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THE JOURNAL

OF THE

FRIENDS' HISTORICAL SOCIETY

EDITED BY

NORMAN PENNEY, F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S.

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D.=The Reference Library of London Yearly Meeting, Devonshire House, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.

F.P.T.="*The First Publishers of Truth*," published by the Friends' Historical Society, 1907.

Camb. *Jnl.*=*The Journal of George Fox*, published by the Cambridge University Press, 1911.

Ell. *Jnl.*=*The Journal of George Fox*, edited by Thomas Ellwood, 1694.

Notices.

Supplement No. 9, "Extracts from State Papers, Second Series, 1658 to 1664," has been sent out to subscribers. It can now be obtained at 4s. 6d. ($1.15) net. The more than one hundred pages of this Supplement contain striking and curious allusions to early Friends, found in public documents and private letters, and also copies of private correspondence captured by the Government. No. 10 is now in the hands of the printers.

Binding cases for volumes of THE JOURNAL may be obtained from Headley Brothers at 1s. 6d. each.

Notes and Queries.

FRIENDS IN THE WEST INDIES.—I shall be glad of any information regarding Friends in the West Indies about the end of the seventeenth and early in the eighteenth centuries, and more particularly the Bristol Lloyds who traded regularly with Antigua and Montserrat about this period.

Through the courtesy of Mr. Bertram Dobell, Charing Cross Road, London, I have lately seen one of Abraham Lloyd's log-books; he states that John Crosfield was a passenger home from Antigua in 1681.—FRANK L. RAWLINS, Rhyl.

LORD MACAULAY'S QUAKER ANCESTRY.—Zachary Macaulay, father of the historian, married Selina Mills, daughter of a member of the Society of Friends, a bookseller in Bristol. She was born in 1767. What was the exact date of her birth?

[The Bristol Registers do not contain the name of Selina Mills. There is, however, a record of the birth in 1778 of Hannah, daughter of Thomas and Mary Mills, the father a bookseller—probably a younger sister of Selina.—ED.]

CAPTAIN EVERY, QUAKER (viii. 152).—Professor G. Lyon Turner suggests whether the name should be *Avery* instead of *Every*. According to the Episcopal returns of 1669, some "supposed Presbyterians" met at Hursley "att the house of Mrs Dorothy Cromwell wife to Richard Cromwell the late Usurper," and one of the "Heads & Teachrs" was "Mr Avery, Mrs Cromwell's Chaplaine, who being demanded by wt authorithy he held that unlawfull Assembly Answered that he was Authorized thereto by Jesus Christ, and That his Lady would beare them out in all their meetings" (Turner's *Original Records of Early Nonconformity*, i. 140). Prof. Turner writes, "Is it not quite possible that so erratic a luminary may have blazed out (i.) in the Commonwealth period at Hursley, as a reputed Quaker; (ii.) then got appointed somewhere in Berkshire (*Calamy*, i., 296); then on his ejectment (iii.) got the comfortable appointment as Mrs. Cromwell's chaplain in his old haunts at Hursley, 1663-1669, and (iv.) on the Declaration of Indulgence moved to Kingscleare on the urgent invitation of the people there?"

[Both names—Avery and Every—appear in Besse's *Sufferings*, but none of those mentioned appears identifiable with this "Captain Every."—ED.]

WESTMINSTER FRIENDS' MEETING, 1710.—In 1710, Zacharias Conrad von Uffenbach records, on 6th July, "Sunday at noon we attended the Quakers' Meeting at the Gatehouse, Westminster. They have no regular Church, but a mean room, which was crowded. Women preach here as seldom as at Amsterdam. Two old men spoke this time, very slowly and distinctly, so that I could understand all. The hearers all hung the head, as in Holland;

but they used still more singular gestures, and fetched sighs altogether terrible." (See Mayor's *Cambridge in Eighteenth Century*, 1911, p. 366, where this passage is translated from *Merkwürdige Reisen*, published in 1753 by Schelhorn).—William E. A. Axon.

Scotch Meeting Records.—John Rickman, of Edinburgh, writes under date 5th of 5 mo. 1829, to George Richardson of Newcastle (D. Richardson MSS. v. 48), asking for his assistance in tracing a Minute book of Kelso M.M. He says that a Committee of the General Meeting was appointed "to endeavour to discover such parts of the Records of the different Meetings formerly in existence in Scotland, as have been found to be wanting by an enquiry and examination lately made in furtherance of the Yearly Meeting's direction to that effect." . . . "The Committee in the course of their enquiries discovered a Book containing the Records of Kelso Mo. Meeting from the year 1748 till its junction with Edinburgh Mo. Meeting in 1786. In this Book are several References to a '*former* Book' which is not forthcoming, and as the whole of the book we have found is in the handwriting (at least down to 1761) of Charles Ormston, it has occurred to us that he would most probably be the custodian of the '*former* Book.'" G.R. is asked to enquire if Charles Ormston, of Newcastle, supposed to be grandson of the first Charles referred to, has any old books, or can suggest anyone else who may have possession of family papers.

Was this "former Book" ever found?

William Penn and James II.—In a review of *The English Court in Exile: James II. at Saint Germain*, by E. and M. S. Grew, recently published, it is stated, "With the victory of the Williamist forces at the Boyne ended the last serious attempt of the Stuart King to regain his Kingdom, though it is interesting to recall that a subsequent invasion of England from France and Ireland was seriously suggested to James by William Penn, the Quaker." Is there any truth in this statement respecting Penn?

[The actual quotation appears to be this:—"The Quaker, William Penn, had assured James that if England were invaded from France and Ireland, his supporters would rally round him" (page 251), which can hardly be described as a "suggestion" to James to invade England. But Penn's relations with the exiled king are not easily understood.—Ed.]

"Camb. Jnl."—In vol. ii., p. 359, in one of George Fox's testamentary papers, occur the words, "And to W M. & N: M: my great Combe Case my Steel & chaine to knock Letters." What do the last six words denote?

Thulched.—Are there other instances of the use of this word than the following:—"I was after the old sort, as at other times, even hurled from my place, and haled up and down by some, and *thulched* on the breast by others, that I might not speak" (Samuel Fisher, *The Scorned Quakers Second Account*, 1656). What is the origin of this word?

Editor's Notes.

On pp. 5-52 we print a transcript, with notes, of a MS. in the Bodleian Library, relative to the journey in America taken by George Fox in 1671-3. The MS. is described in Madan's *Summary Catalogue*, where it is stated, "The volume is said to be the autograph of Elwood the friend of Milton. . . . It was bought from John Pearson, London Bookseller, on Feb. 15, 1869, for £3 13s. 6d. Now MS. Add. A. 95." We have seen reproductions of several pages, and are not satisfied that the writing is that of Thomas Ellwood. The notes, which follow the text, have been contributed, mainly, by Dr. William I. Hull, professor of history in Swarthmore College, Pa. See Camb. *Journal*, ii. 426.

By the kindness of Wilfrid Grace, of Bristol, we are able to commence in this part of THE JOURNAL the printing of a series of Swarthmore MSS. belonging to him and lent to us for this purpose. This series of twenty-eight papers is known as the Thirnbeck MSS., and was presented to the present owner by his aunt, the late Ellen Clare Grace, who received them from her aunt, Mary Thirnbeck, a descendant of Rachel Abraham, daughter of Margaret Fell.

In July, 1875, the English Government, of which Disraeli was Premier, issued the notorious Fugitive Slave Circular, instructing ships' captains to surrender to their owners all slaves who had sought refuge on English vessels. Robert Spence Watson called a meeting, at a few hours' notice, and in an impassioned speech, declared to the crowded audience that if any captain did act on the Admiralty instructions, he himself would not only indict him under the Kidnapping Act, but would indict the Prime Minister as an accessory.

Said Disraeli to Cowen, who was then one of the Parliamentary representatives for the town [Newcastle-on-Tyne], "Who is this fellow at Newcastle who has been threatening to indict me?"

Said Cowen to Disraeli, "They call him Spence Watson. He is a Quaker, and if he has said that, you may depend upon it that he will do it."

In the following November the obnoxious circular was withdrawn.

—*The Annual Monitor*, for 1912, p. 191.

The American Journey of George Fox, 1671-3,

Taken from a MS. in the Bodleian Library.

1671.
Mō Day
6 13 We sett out from London[1]
[*four lines blank*]
and the thirteenth[2] day of the eighth moneth wee landed at Barbadoes[3] in which Iland wee had many meetings and lardge both among the white people & black and wee mett with som opposition by the priests and papists but the power of the lord and his glorious truth was ouer all which reached most in the Iland wee also ware at seuerall mens & weomens meetings and haue sett up meetings in their pticuler famelies for the masters & dames to admonish their servants both whites & blacks wch is of greate service for that Iland, and I[a] visited the Gouernor[4] and he was loueing & a litle before I came of the Iland he with seuerall others with him came to Thomas Rowses[5] to visit mee and after wee had continued on that Iland about 3 moneths we left friends in a good sence of the loue of god & leaueing som ffriends in the ministry with them that had good seruice wee sailed
11th mō. 8th from Barbadoes to Jamaica thence for Jamaica. on the 8th day of the 11th mō. and by the 13th day of the 11th mō. wee found or shipp sprang a leake and or carpenter being an actiue man diued in the sea and groaped out the hole and stopped it, & the day before the roape that stayed or maine yard broak in a storme but all is well. praised be the lord.
18th We landed at Jamaica on wch land we trauelled vp and doune both in the east parts & west

[a] *went to* struck out after *I*.

in the North and south both among friends & the people of the world and a greate convincement there is by the pouer of the lord wch is ouer all. I was two times with the gouernour[r] to visit him & two times with Major Banister they was loueing to mee in words and after wee had stayed on that land Seauen weekes & one day wee left Solaman Eckles[2] there & took shipin for mariland.

1st mō 8th the 8th day of the 1st mō we set out from Jamaica & two daies sailed wind ward & the 3d day wee being not able to pass against the wind wee turned Leewards & this day are ouer against Aligaters Pond in maneto valie & by reason of contrarie winds wee Beate a whole weake backwards & forwards vpon that coast before wee got out of sight of

mō 1. 15 Jamaica on the 15th day we lost sight of

18 Jamaica 16th day wee passed by the Iland of litle caimauns and common brook and grand caimauns and the Iland of tortuls aligators & crokedils (and chonasses about the bigness of a catt) and wee passed by the

21 Iland of Pines neare cuba & ye 21th day our maine stay of or greate yard broke &

27 fell downe. 27th of 1st mō wee saw the table land on Cuba and after a calme we had contrary winds wch driued us to & froe & being neare the Iland of tortudus about 8 leagues from the Gulfe of floradia wee past a shoule where wee could see the bottom

mō 2. 2 sands & Rocks wch struck a suden Feare and a mazment on the people & a grate noyse amongst them in the midst of it I prayed to the lord & he Immediately stopt the winds & preserued us praised be the lord

10 for euer. 10th day of the 2d mō wee had a greate storme soe that wee tyed up the Rudder with Bands & let the ship[a] driue as shee could, but to wards night it ceaced

11 praised be the lord. on the 11th day wee had

[a] *goe* struck out after *ship*.

contrary winds & some times calme wee were driuen back to the lattetude of 37.
14 & by the 14th day wee were in the latetude of 36, & had blustring weather but praised be the lord all things are santifyed to me sea & land & stormes & the seuerall Clymates & sorts of weather, knowing the foundation of man and the foundation that is of god & many trauells & Excercises on the sea wee have had but praised be the lord who hath carryed us through and aboue them all, on
16 the 16th day wee had a greate storme againe & greate Raine almost all the day & we tyed up the Ruder band & the helime & let the shipp driue as she could and all was giuen up to the lord whose power orders all things to his glorie both on sea & land.
17 praised be the lord for euer, 17th of 2d mō wee had a greate fogg & mist but when it cleared up wee saw land on the Coast of Virginia, & the wind & the sea was moderate praised be the lord who by his Arme & power & faith in it preserued us
18 through many dangers. ye 18th day wee came in sight of cape Henry on virginia and
20 19th day passed up the bay & 20th day cast Anchor in potoxon Riuer[1] & the master being a New England man of boston went on bord another ship belonging to New England in that Riuer & when he came againe he was mad Drunck & threatned to Cutt doune the mast & to doe other Mischiefs yet I had power ouer him, but at the best he was a bad man & said he mattered noe more for throwing 20 men ouer bord then he did a dog, And after wee had rode at anchor awhile a greate storme arose & a boat was cast upon us for shelter in wch was diuers considerable persons of that contry & som of their wifes & the storme was soe greate that it droue away their boat in which was the value of 500lis worth of goods as they said & Geo.

Pateson[1] & diuers others of or ship went out in or boats to seeke after their & others boats that was driuen away & the wind laid them vp soe as they could not retorne. And wee knew not how to gett to shore, but after 3 daies there came a boat wth som friends
23d that fetcht us to shore & 23d day wee came to James Prestons[2] house and from thence went 60 miles to a meeting which lasted 4 daies & seuerall Justices of the peace were there & the speaker of ye Assemblie and one of the councell and many considerable people of the world a glorious meeting wee had and all generally well satisfyed and from thence wee went by watter in a sloop about 40 miles but soone after wee set out a storme arose and or sloope cast on ground ready to be broken in peeces, wee had but lately come from the meeting where i was very hott & swett & in the storme wett to the skine but wee gott the bote of the sands[a] & all was well blessed bee the lord & by breake of the day we gott to the[b] place where another generall meeting was and many of the world was there and did receiue the truth with gladness & reverance and most of the backsliders came in & the next day wee passed about 40 miles by watter to another generall meeting and all friends and people receiued the truth with gladness & it was a heauenly meeting (and neare greate choptank Riuer) there was two Justices of peace and seuerall people of account and it was upon me from the lord to send for the Indian Emperor[3] who came with two of his kings & diuers others of theyr companie and stayed all the meeting and the Emperor & kings after meeting came very loueinly & took me by the hand & from thence went to the friends house where i was to lodg that night & I had

[a] *all* struck out after *sands*.

[b] *the* written over *another*, which is struck out.

to very good speaches to them & they heard the word of the lord & did conffess to it & desired to know when there would be more meetings for they would com to them they said they held a councell & had a greate dispute before they came and on
mō day the 6d day of the 3d moneth I with R W.[1] J.
3. 6. Burnyeate[2] & G. P. with seuerall other friends set forwards towards New England by land haueing two Indians to be or guids[3] through the woods, wee passed by the head of Wye riuer[4] & through the woods to the head of Chester Riuer[5] lodging in the woods by or fyer yt night & the next Day through the woods & wilderness (haueing noe path) to a plantation wch is called the worlds end & wee swama our horsses ouer Sexon bridg[6] riuer & went ouer our sealues in Dangerous cannows and soe through the woods & we came to Dallaway which is now called new Castell ab towne of Dutch & Sweads.
9 9th day wee passed ouer a greate watter[7] & caried our horsses ouer in a sloape & there hyred new guids with much a doe[8] and soe passed on through the woods and a tedious Jorney wee had through the woods & riuers & Creecks & wildernesses where it is not knowne that euer any man Rode before & some tymes wee lay in the woods by or fyers and som tymes in Indians houses or cabens[9] once at an Indian Kings house & he and his queen with the rest of his Attendance was very loueing & receiued me & he layd me a matt for a bed to lye by him & at another Indian towne the king & quene came to me they could speake English & was uery loueing & I spake much to them & his people & wee passed through many Indian townes and they helped us ouer the greate Riuer in theyr cannows & swam ouer or horsses & soe wee

[a] *ouer* struck out after *swam*.
[b] *a* inserted above the line.

passed through the woods & boggs vntill we came to midletowne[1] a place in New Jarsie & was uery glad then when wee got a high way & wee stayed there a while and refreshed our sealues & from thence wee went to a friends house whose name is Richard Hartshorne[2] & he helped us ouer a greate watter in a bote & o[r] horsses wee was almost a whole day in passing it, and then wee came to Graues end on long Iland & there was friends & from thence wee went
17th about 40 miles to oyster bay where was a Generall meeting w[ch] held 6 dayes and was lardge where wee mett with som of the hatt spirits[3] w[ch] was Judged Downe & condemned and the truth was sett ouer all and this generall meeting began on the 17th of 3d mō & did not part untill the 23d day of the 3d mō it was of very greate service & from thence wee went to another meeting & from
23 thence through the woods to fflushing wher was a lardge meeting at John Bounds[4] house and many people of the world was there and was much satisfyed & desired to heare againe
3d mō and said if I would come to theyr towne I should haue their meeting-house & from
30 thence wee came to oyster Baye & the 30th day wee came to Road Iland[5] it was about 200 miles o[r] passage by watter & friends & others receiued us gladly & I[a] came to Nicholas Eastons[6] house who is Gouerno[r] of that Collonye & there lodged & had two uery good meetings & many Justices with the gouerno[r] & deputy gouerno[r][7] & captaine and all was satisfyed & som of them said they did not think there had been such a man in the world & there was the Generall meeting where friends came out of many other Collonys w[ch] meeting continued daye after daye for many dais and most of the officers with y[e] gouernor & deputy gouernor

[a] wee struck out and *I* written over.

was there—and the mens & weomens meetings concering the managing the affairs of the truth was there Established & there wee had a mariag wch I was at for Example sacke & many of the world was there three Justices of peace & both people & friends said they neuer saw such a solme assembly & soe weighty & such order soe it was beyond words and the truth was set ouer all it was at a friends house that had formerly been gouernor[1] it was an Example to all the rest of the Jurisdictions for some out of many places was there,

and I had a trauell upon my spirit concerning the Ranters[2] for they had been Rude at a frinds meeting where I was not at and I apoynted a meeting amongst them & I knew that the lord would giue me power ouer them and he did to his praise & glory blessed be his name for euer and there was a Justice of the peace there that day conuinced that had been a Justice 20 years & he was taken with greate admiration & loue to the truth & soe was diuers other people of account and all was quiett and on the

4th mō 30th 30th of the 4th moneth wee had a meeting at prouidence, very lardge and diuers sorts & sects of people was there and I had a great trauell concerning the meeting in haueing & preseruing it quiett and bringing the truth ouer them & in them for they were aboue the priests in high notions, & the lord sett his truth & seed aboue all & they went away mightyly satisfyed and said that they neuer heard the like before & did much desire another meeting som came on purpose to dispute but all was sylant and the power of the lord was ouer all people came farr & neare to that meeting & it was of greate seruice & to the honour of god & the people wass soe affected that they enquried after more meetings the meeting was in a greate

barne wch was soe ffull of people yt I was Extreemly soaked with sweat but all was well the blessed seed was ouer all. There was
5th mō a priest that did threaten but his mouth was stopt & there was a woman that was bad and skoffed and she went away and was struct sick and sent for one to look to her who told her of her skoffing & refused to Attend her & mens & weomens meetings are Established in all those collonyes in the order of the gospell & a generall weomens meeting is set up at boston & the pouer of the lord is ouer all & his blessed seed blessed be his name
13th for euer & the 13th day of the 5th mō I had a meeting at a Justices house where friends neuer had a meeting before and allmost all the Countrye came that neuer heard friends before and all was quiett & mightyly taken & ffour Justices & the gouernor & wee went about 40 miles back wards & forwards to it it was at a place called Naragansit and people came from comitticott and it was of very greate seruice blessed be the lord for euer and they were there soe much taken with the truth that as wee ware comeing away a Justice with som others was drawing up a paper Inviteing mee to haue more meetings amongst them & at another place on that Iland they said that if they had money enough they would hyre mee & I replyed then it was tyme for me to goe away for then they would not come to their owne teacher, for that (*viz.* (hyreing of teachers) did & had spoyled them & many for not improueing their owne tallents for wee brought euery one to their owne teacher and after wee had stayed two moneths in Road Iland & thereabouts & had good service there the people very loueing & the Gouernor, deputy gouerner Captaine & most or all the Justices came to the meetings constantly & was Convinced & are uery loueing ; and soe

leaueing John Burneyeate & John Cartwrite to visit them againe wee departed thence.

5th mō 26th about ye 26th of ye 5th mō in a sloope and wee sailed by poynt Judah & by block Iland and at night came to ffishers Iland where wee went on shore to Lodge. but wee were not able to stay for the Muscheatoes soe wee tooke or sloope againe & put of from the shore & Cast anchor & stayed all that night & the next day sayled into the Sound and or sloope was not able to abide the weather soe wee could not pass but retornd in againe to Anchor at fishers Iland all that night haueing much raine and the next day being the

5th mō. 28th 28th day of ye 5th mō wee sayled[a] but wee ware very much wett haueing an open boat & Raine almost all day & night, wee passed the watters called the horssraces[b] & by Garners Iland & the Gulls Iland & came to shelter Iland[c] where we had a meeting on ye

28 28th daye being the first day of the weeke, & I had a meeting there among the Indians

6th mō. 1 con the first day of the 6th mōe and the King and his councell with about ad hundred more Indians with them & they sate about two houres & I spake to them by an Interpretor that was an Indian that could speake English very well. and they apeared very loueing and after the meeting they Confessed & said all was truth and I haue sett up a meeting amongst them once a fortnight & a friend Joseph Siluister[2] is to reade the scripturs to them, and on the next first day of the

4 weeke being the 4th of the 6th mō wee had a very lardge meeting on shelter Iland many came farr to the meeting & many people of the world was there & ye priests people & were uery much satisfyed and many of them

[a] *sayled* written over *passed*, which is struck out.
[b] *horssrases* struck out before *horssraces*.
[c] . . .e These words inserted above the line.
[d] I irst written *one* and altered to *a*.

after meeting could not goe away vntill they had seen mee & spake to me after the meeting & I went downe to them & spake with them & they haue a greate loue & desire after the truth blessed be the lord his name spreads. and will be greate among the nations and dreadfull among the heathen
5th and wee parted thence on the 5th day of the 6th mō leaueing a good sauer behind us, and wee sayled by plum Iland & falcon Iland & gott ouer the sound With much adoe wee had a very greate storme and much raine and was uery much wett & the wind turned against us & wee had much adoe to get the land. but blessed be the lord god of heauen & earth and of the sea & watters all was well
7 and wee came to oyster bay on the 7th of the 6th mō in the morneing & that same day wee had a uery lardge meeting, (& the same day Ja: Lancaster[2] and Christopher Houlder[2] had a meeting at Rye on ye Contenant in Wintrops gouerment[3] & Christopher Houlder with som others went to Jamaica[4] and had a meeting there) some other of or companie before parted from us to new England & some wee left at Road Iland & at othe places in the serviss of the truth wch is very greate & in many places where friends neuer had any meetings is now Established meetings) and
17 from Oyster bay we passed to fflushen & 17th of 6th mō at flushen had a uery lardg meeting seuerall hundreds of the people of the world, some yt came neare 30 miles to it a Justice of peace and his famely and many considerable psons was there and a glorious
6th mō 17th & heauenly meeting it was & the people much satisfyed praised be the lord god, and from thence wee passed by Jamaica to Grauesands about 20 miles & there on the
20 20th day had a very pressious meeting & two other presious meetings wee had there som dias after & wee heard of many that

would haue come from Yorke to y^t^ meetings but the weather hindred them. there wee waited awhile for the wind (& parted with Jn^o^ Stubbs[1] & John Burnyeate who did trauell seuerall hundreds of miles by land & did vissitt Gouernor Wintroop & the people of his Jurisdiction and had good service there) and when the wind serued wee tooke sloope w^ch^ wee had hyred but had much adoe to gett in our horsses, and wee sayled doune the greate Bay to the new countrie
27 Jersie[2] & 27^th^ of the 6^th^ mō wee landed there at midltoune harboure & went on shore to Richard Hartshornes & on y^e^ 28^th^ day wee trauelled about 30 miles in the new countrie through the woods & very bad boggs one worss y^n^ the rest where wee and our horsses was faine slither a stipe place. & then to lye and panck & breath them sealues, (and this place they call purgatory) and wee came to
7^th^ mō 1 Shrewsbury[3] & on the first day of the weeke wee had a uery lardge meeting & friends and oth^r^ people came farr to this meeting and the blessed presents of the lord was with us, in this place a friend is made Justice of
7 mō 2 y^e^ peace and y^e^ second day wee had a men & weomens meeting w^ch^ came out of most parts of the new Country Jarsie w^ch^ will be of good service in keepeing the Gospell order & gouerment of Christ Jesus the Increace of it hath noe end and for them to see that all Doe liue in the pure religion and walke as becometh the gospell & there is a monethly & a generall meeting sett up & they are building a meeting place in the midle of them, and at porback neare shrousbury a friend[4] that was with mee went to try a horss & when he got on his back the horss Run & threw him & he fell vpon his head & the people tooke him up dead and carried a good way & laid him on a tree—& I came to him and felt him and saw that he was dead, and

as I was pittying him & his famely for he was a man of greate Etate & a lardge ffamely and he was one that was to pass through the woods with mee to Maryland that land Jorney, soe I tooke him by the haire of his head & his head torned like a cloth it was soe loose, I threw away my stick & gloues and took his head in both my hands and sett my knees against the tree & Raised his head & I did perceaue that it was not broken out that way, then I plased my hands under his Chin & behind his head and Raised his head two or three times with all my strength & brought it in & I did perceaue his neck
7th mō began to be stiff and then he began to Rattell and after to breathe and the people was amazed & I bid them haue a good heart & bee of good faith & carry him into the house & soe wee sett him by the fire & being in som measure recouered wee gott him som warme thing to drink & put him to bed & he began to speake but did not know where he had been & soe wee bound up his necke warme with a napkine & the next day took our Jorney & he with us through the woods 16 miles to Midletowne in wch Jorney wee passed seuerall boggs & swam or horsses ouer ye Riuer. & went ouer or sealues on a tree, and at Midletoune wee had a meeting at wch was most of the towne & a glorious meeting we had and the truth was ouer all blessed be the greate lord god for euer and after the meeting wee passed
9 to midletoune harbour being the 9th day of the 7th mō to take our long Jorney through the woods to maryland & soe hyred Indians to be or Guids for it was upon me to pass throw the woods on the other side dallaway bay & soe to head the Creecks and Riuers if it
10 were possable soe ye 9th of the 7th mō wee set forwards & passed through many Indian Townes and declared the day of the lord to

. . . These words have been crossed through.

them & when wee had trauelled about 40
miles through ye bogs & Riuers wee made us
11 a fyre at night in the woods & the next day
wee traueled 50 miles & came neare the head
12 of Dallaway Bay and found an old house
& gott us a fire, and the next day wee swam
our horsses ouer a great Riuer almost a mile
at twise first to an Iland & then to the land the
Iland is Called vper dimicock[1] & wee hyred
Indians to helpe us ouer in their Cannows
& from thence wee passed about 30 miles
to a sweeds house and got a litle straw & lay
13 there all night & there we hyred another
guid & ye next day trauelled about 40 miles
through the woods & Riuers & made us a
fire at night and lay by it in the woods wee
was commonly wett in or Jorney by day;
but dryed us by the fire at night, & on the
14 14th day of ye 7th mō wee passed ouer a
desperat Riuer of Rocks & broad stones
very dangerous to us and our horsses & from
thence to Christian Riuer & swam ouer or
horsses it was bad & Myre some had like to
haue laine bogg'd there we gott ouer or sealues
in Cannows & from thence wee came to new
Castell called Dallaway or new Amsterdam[2]
and being very weary in the streets was
Inquering to buy som corne for our horsses
& the Gouernor came into the streete &
Invited me to his house to lodg there saying
he had a bed for me and I was welcome & I
15 went to his house & he offered mee his house
for to haue a meeting there & the next day
being the first day of the weeke I had a
meeting at his house pretty lardge a pressious
one it was blessed be the lord & the heads
of the toune was there & most of the towne
7th mō and the gouernor & his wife & the shiriue
& the Scoute wch is an Emenant officer
amongst them & many were very tender and
confessed to the truth & receiued it blessed
be the lord. at this place friends neuer had

any meeting before nor within a greate way
16th of it & 16th day we trauelled about 50 miles
through the woods & boggs & headed
boheamy riuer & saxafox riuer & som of the
branches of the same Riuers and at night lay
in the woods & it rained but wee sheltered
under the trees & dryed by the fires & on
17 ye 17th day wee waded through Chester Riuer
& this day wee passed through the woods
and many bad boggs about 30 miles, & lay
18 in the woods at night & ye 18th Day wee
passed through many tedious boggs neare
50 miles and came well through the woods
to Maryland to Rober Horwoods[1] house at
miles Riuer and although wee came in uery
weary & dirty yet wee went forth the next
19th day to ye meeting wch was about a mile &
after meeting 3 or 4 miles to John Edmond-
22 sons[2] & on the 22d day being the first day of
the weeke The Judges wife was there which
was neuer at or meeting before & she was
much satisfyed & after the meeting said she
would rather heare this man once then the
priests a Thousand tymes & shee is conuinced
& from thence I passed about 22 miles and
26 had a meeting upon the Kentish shore and one
of the Burgises was there at it, (when one of
or friends went to Invite him to the meeting
he replyed that he would goe to heare Mr
ffox as farr as any of them that desired him
and a very good meting wee had at Henry
27 Wilcocks's[3] house & on ye 27th day wee passed
by watter 20 miles to a meeting at[a]
wch was very lardge som hundreds of the
people of the world and a Establishing meeting
it was 4 Justices of the peace & an Indian
Emperor & one of his greate men & an other
greate man of another Nation of the Indians
who stayed all the meeting & I had a good
speach with them before the meeting I spake
to them by an Interpreter and they receiued

[a] Blank in MS. Name not given in Camb. *Jnl.*

the truth and was very loueing & the Emperor said he did beleiue I was a uery honest man[1], blessed be the lord his truth doth spread, and after the meeting was don. a Judges wife of that side of the Country being there desired to spake with mee hir husband is one of the Assembly & was sick not like to liue & shee desired me to goe visit her husband & it being after the meeting I was hott but gott a horss and went with her & visited him & he was finely raised up & refreshed & soone after came to or meetings, the high shiriue of dallaway & seuerall from thence was also at yt meeting & it was a blessed meeting and on the 30th day wee
7th mō 30 passed about 5 miles by watter & yn 14 miles by land to John Edmondsons at trade hauen
8th mō: 3 Creek[2] and on the 3d day of the 8th moneth wee came to the generall meeting of all maryland and it held 5 dayes that was 3 daies the generall meeting & the other two dais the mens & weomens meeting & many people of the world was there a Judg & his wife & another Judges wife & 8 Justices of peac & many other persons of Quallity it was Judged that there was a Thowsand people, one of the Justices said that he neuer saw soe many people to geather in the Countrie before (& yet it was Rainey weather) [3]& friends & people were greatly satisfyed . . . & the blessed peace of the Lord was ouer all & a greate conuincement arose & a greate enquiring after the truth among all sorts of people & the truth is of good report & a glorious powerfull meeting there was . . . friends were much Established & . . . conuinced—blessed be the lord foreuer and when the meeting was don I had some of the choyce of the men & weomen to meete togeather for I had some thing to Informe them concerning the glory of god & the order of the Gospell & the gouerment

of Christ Jesus & concerning the greate meeting.[a]

I went euery day by boate to the meeting about 4 or 5 miles there was neuer seen soe many boats togeather before it was allmost like the Thames, there was an Emenant man whose office is aboue a Justice he was much taken with the truth & was at most of the meetings and many other would haue been there but ther was a generall Court held from wch they could not well be absent but som of them sent a man to mee to know where they might com to heare mee but wee ware parting thence there was neuer such a meeting the people said in maryland a glorious powerfull meeting it was & the blessed power of the lord was ouer all & friends much Established and the world conuinced blessed be the lord foreuer, And from thence wee passed the
10 10th day of the eighth moneth by watter. by crane Iland & by Swan Iland & by Kent Iland and wee had very much raine and foule weather in an open boat and the next day early in the morning wee went on shore to a litle house where wee dryed us by a fire & there was one of the world that knew of or passage said he did Rekon wee had been cast away & did intend to goe Look for us
8th mō in the morneing but blessed be the lord
11 wee were very well the 11th day wee had still fowle weather some times wee Rowed & some tymes wee sayled & did not get aboue 12 miles & at night made us a fire [b]on land[b] & saye
12 [*sic*] by it & 12th day wee sayled againe &
13 passed ouer the Baye & 13th day wee gott to a friends house a Justice of the peace a litle aboue the head of a greate bay & there wee had a meeting that day being the first
14 day of the weeke & the 14th day wee passed

[a] . . .[a] These words are heavily scored out in the MS.

[b] . . .[b] The two words were inserted above the line.

[c] Should be *lay*.

by watter about 7 miles to a friends house neare the head of Hattons Iland & had a seruice amongst friends & others & from thence wee passed by watter 3 miles to a meeting at Geo: Wilsons a pressious one it was. it was at the place where the preist did wont to preach a greate tenderness there was among the people. from thence after the meeting wee sayled & Rowed about 10 miles to James ffrizbyes[1] a Justice of the
16 peace and the next day being the 16th day of ye 8th mō wee had there a very lardge meeting which was a blessed heauenly powerfull & Thundring one ther was three Justice of the peace the under shiriue & two Captains and many other persons of quallity & some papest and all went away well satisfyed and a greate sence & broakenness was among the people and after the meeting was don wee stayed for the torne of the tide vntill the 11th houre at night then tooke boat & passed that night & next daye about 50 miles to a
19 friends house & the 19th daye wee went to a place called scaueren[2] where wee had a very lardge meeting the meeting place would not hould the people by many the people came generally to it and was much satisfyed for it was a blessed and heauenly meeting, there was 3 Justics of peace & the Speaker of the Assembly[3] & his wife & many Considerable
22 people—& 22th day wee had a meeting with some that walked disorderly, And the 23 day wee passed by watter 8 miles & the 24th day nine miles to the western shore and on the
25 25th day wee had a pressious & glorious meeting (at William Coles[4]) and it was lardge the speaker of the Assembly and his wife & a Justice of the peace was there & seuerall
8th mō 26 people of account And the 26th day of the 8th moneth wee had a meeting at [a] Birkheads[5] in his Tobacco-house & two of the Assembly

[a] There is a blank here in the MS. for the insertion of the given name.

men was there the speaker is one who is convinced [a]& many other people of account[a] and a blessed heauenly meeting it was praised bē the lord this meeting was 6 or 7 miles
28 from the former on the 28th day wee had a meeting at Peter Sharps[1] on the Clifts very lardge. a pressious & heauenly one it was 3 or 4 Justice of the peace & one out of Virginia wch is convinced who sence hath had meeting at his house & one of the Gouernors councells wife is Convinced & hir husband is loueing and many people of the world and of account was there & very well satisfyed a greate[b] papist Threatned before he came that he would dispute with G ff but when he came he was Reached & then said G ff was a notable man & would shake the foundations of them that was not Established[2], and affter meeting wee came about 18 miles to James Prestons at Potoxon and there came to me an Indian Kinge & his brother & I spake to them
9th mō 4th & they vnderstood, & were sencable, And on the 4th day of ye 9th moneth wee had a lardge meeting at the meeting place in putuxon & many of the world was there of all sorts & a powerfull meeting it was And on the 5th day of ye 9th mō wee set sayle towards Virginia & by the 6th day wee had Rowed & sayled about 80 miles and the wether being stormie wind & Raine wee putt to the shore & with much Adoe things being all wett wee made us a fire in the woods & lay by it all night & the next morening sailed againe & towards the Euening being darke & much Raine coming up with a ship that Came from plimouth[3] I with some others went on bord & lay there that night & others abode in or sloope & in the morning all went into or sloope againe and sayled to Nancemum[4] & there went on shore to the widdow

[a]. . .[a] These words form an insertion.

[b] The word *greate* inserted.

Wrights[1] wch place they account 200 miles from Putuxon & at Nancemum wee had a greate meeting, there was Collonall Dews[2] & a Justice & a Captaine & other officers & many of account & they was much taken with the truth.

9th mō : 12 and the 12th daye wee passed ouer the watter called Nancemum & about 4 miles by land to where wee had a pressious meeting & a man & weomens meeting is there setled & from thence wee went 12 miles & boted ouer a Creek called pagans creek to William
17 Pardoes[3] house and on the 17th day wee had a lardge meeting 2 Justices of the peace & their wifes was there & a liftenant Collonalls wife & there was a greate openness in them to Receiue the truth & ye meeting was soe lardge yt wee mett without dores the house would not hould all & after the meeting wee went a mile to Tho : Jordans[4] house, there said an Ancient Justice to a friend that G ff was a very ffamious man. Noyse of ye truth did sound abroad and is of good report in the hearts of the people, the lord haue
18 the glory for euer : 18th day wee passed about 8 miles to the westeren branch where [5] amett us. after their Trauells and wee were refreshed in one anothers
19 companie on the 19th day wee passed about 30 miles through the woods towards corolina a flashey wett way & at night wee came to a place called somerton a poore house & there wee found a woman that had a sence of god
20 & most of us lay by the fire all night for it was uery could & the next day wee Trauelled all day through the woods and swamps cruell boggs & watery places that wee was wett to the knees & all day nither mett with house nor man at night took up or lodging in the
21 woods & made us a fire to drye us. & the next day wee passed on through the woods

[5] A blank was here left in the MS.

and ouer many boggs & swamps and at night came to Bonners Creek & lay at his house & the woman of the house lent vs a matt & wee lay on it by the fire side this was the first house wee came to in Corolina & or horsses being weake & almost weary wee left them
22 there ye 22th of 9th mō wee passed in a cannow downe the Creeck to Mattocomake Riuer and came to Hugh Smithicks[1] house & people of the world came to see us (for there was noe friends in those parts) & they receiued us gladly & wee went to Nathaniell Batts house (where many came to us) he was formerly Gouernor of Roanoake[2] & is most Comonly knowne by the name of Captaine Batts. he is a Rude desperate man who haue a greate Command ouer yt Countrie Especially ouer the Indians & he spread abroad Relations that he said he heard from an aquaintance of his of som passages of G ff in England
24 wch affected the people and the 24th day wee had a meeting among them and they was taken with the truth. blessed be the lord
9th mō : 25th and 25th day wee passed from thence downe the Riuer Marattick[3] & went downe the bay coneoke[4] to a captains house who was loueing & lent vs his boate for wee was much wett in the Cannow with the fflashing of the waues & with that boat wee got to the gouernors[5] house. but the boate being deepe, & the watter shoule wee could not get to the shore with the boat but wee went in the watter & wadded through to the land and the gouernor & his wife receiued us loueingly But there wee mett with a docter that did hould dispute with us wch was of greate service and accation of opening much to the people concerning the light and ye spirit he denyed it to bee in euery one I called to an Indian because he denyed it to bee in them I Asked him if he did lye or doe yt to another that he would not haue another doe to him

when he did soe was there not some thing in him that did tell him he should not doe soe & he said there was such a thing in him when he did such things y^t^ he was Ashamed[1] & soe the Docter was ashamed in the sight of the Gouernor & people, & he ran himselfe soe farr out in his discource that he would not owne the scriptures & the next day wee passed thence & the Gouernor went on foote with us two miles through the woods to sett us in o^r^ way to o^r^ boat in w^ch^ wee passed [a]about 30 miles[a]
26 to one Joseph Scotts[2]. he is one of the Burgis's of that countrye where wee had a sound & pressious meeting & many people there very tender. & much desireth after meetings blessed bee the lord, there is also ffrindly people at pequeminus Riuer where wee also had a meeting & on the 28^th^ day of the
28 9^th^ mō wee passed by watter 4 miles to Henry Phelps's house[3] where wee had a meeting 29^th^
29 day I went among the Indians some of them Emenant men. one a young kinge they was very loueing & receiued what I said to them, I shewed them that god did make all things in six dayes[4] & made but one man & a woman & y^t^ god did droune the old world because of their wickedness, and soe alonge vntill Christ & that he did dye for all & for their sins & did enlighten them and if they did doe euill he would burne them[5] & if they did doe
10^th^ mō. 1. well they should not be burned & wee went doune by watter 5 miles & the watter being shoule wee could not get the boate to shore but was forced to wade throug it to the land. There wee had a blessed[b] meeting & largde. Seuerall Indians was there and their wifes & some of their Kings Councell & one that is to be kinge & they was very tender & loueing & soe was the people and

[a]. . .[a] These words form an insertion.

[b] Word *blessed* inserted.

10th mō after thee meeting I passed 5 or 6 miles by land & watter to Joseph Scotts house where wee had a day of washing of some that
2 had spotted them sealues & on the 2d daye of ye 10th mō wee passed by watter about 5 miles & at night laye by the fire on a matt & the next day wee had a gloryous & pressious meeting & pretty lardge for the countrie & after the meeting wee passed 10 miles by watter to the secretarys house in a Rotten boate. uery dangerous & it was much raine & wee very wett. & wee loged at the secretaryes & in the morning or boate was sunck. & wee turned out the watter & mended hir and passed away by sea. 24 miles. the sea was troblesome & Rough and the wiues [*sic*] high but the greate pouer of god was seen in preseruing us in that boat soe wee left the boat where we had borowed her and took our Cannow & came to captaine Batts & there most of us lay that night by the fire and from thence about halfe a mile to Hugh
8 Smiths and the 8th day wee had a pressious meeting praised be the lord and ther was the Indian priest[1] he satte doune among the people of the world & the people was very tender & desirous after truth. & there came an Indian captaine and was uery loueing[a] & did confess to the truth & with many others wee had good seruice[a] & after the meeting was don I passed about halfe a mile to a sober mans house where I lay that night on a Couch &
9 on the 9th day wee passed to the place where wee left our horsses & thence passed through the woods towards Virginia in this Countrye they vsually keepe greate dogs about their houses and as wee were comeing in to a Certain house the people being noe friends. ye woman bid hir son to keepe up the doggs but the Lad retorned answer to his mother that the doggs did not vse to medle with

[a] [a] These words were inserted.

quakers & when wee came to her house she said to us that wee was like to the Children of Israell against whom the doggs did not moue their tongues & wee trauelled two dayes
11 through the woods & boggs wett & dirty & came to Somerton where wee had a pressious meeting for the people of that Country had heard of us & had an Expectation & desire to see mee & wee had a good meeting among them [a]where wee neuer had meeting before[a] blessed be the lord & from thence wee trauelled about 20 miles in the woods & towards the Euening coming to a sober mans house to Inquire the way he desired us to
12 stay with him all night & soe wee did & the next day trauelled about 8 miles and came among friends at Nancemum & the 15th day wee had a uery lardge meeting, pressious & heauenly dreadfull & Reuerant one praised be the lord all was Chained the priest he had threatned that he would be there & the Major to whom he soe said Replyed to him that
10 mō G ff would convince him, the power of the lord was ouer all & his seed of life stopped him, the Major & the high shriue of the County & diuers other officers & persons of quallity was at the meeting & Reached with the truth & thence wee passed 16
16 miles by watter to the widdow Hortons[1] & 17th day passed 12 miles by watter & two by land to a meeting at Crickatroah[2] & had a pressious & blessed meeting & there was many considerable people much refreshed the house was full, many people that neuer heard friends before, & wee heard of seuerall others. (som Justices & their wiues) that Intended to haue been there but being very much
18 Raine it hindred them ye 18th day wee passed 20 miles by watter Rowed against tide and wind, in the night went on shore to a house at Elizabeth Riuer where it was soe Extreem

[a]. . .[a] An insertion.

could that I could ffeele noe warmeth by my
19 lodging & the next day passed up a branch
of Elizabeth Riuer & came to a friends house
22 whose name is John Porter[1] & 22th day had
a pressious meeting & Glorious very liueing
& fresh & many of the world was there & it
brought the truth aboue all bad walkers &
talkers blessed bee the lord 23 day wee passed
to a friends house being the farthest in Vir-
ginia & there two of us went to the Justices
house to vissit him he is very loueing &
24 tender to friends & 24th day wee passed by
watter up Elizabeth Riuer 12 miles to a
friends house & on ye 25th day 6 miles to
Thomas Goods[2] house where wee had service
& the [a]day wee passed to the
meeting about 4 miles & the meeting was
prety lardge now this last weeke wee was
amonge friends where som bad spirits had
entered & wee ware sweeping away that which
should not bee & workeing downe the bad
& the power of the lord preserued us & gaue
us victorie here in this county they said the
high shirue had an order to take mee but I
mett him by Chance & he tooke me by the
hand and was very Ciuell & courtious & from
thence passed 6 miles to take in ffrinds &
thence to pass for maryland & ye 30th day set
forth towards maryland & haueing a greate
storme & very much wett wee got to land at
Willowgbys poynt & lodged there all night
being uery wett a Tender Widow woman
receiued us uery kindly with teares & the next
day sett to see againe but the wett & stormes
continuing Towards the Euening wee with
much adoe got to the shore & made us fire
to lye by in the night to warme & dry vs
& there the Wolues Roared about us & the
11th mō 1 first of ye 11th mō wee sailed againe but the
wind being against us. after wee had droue
to and againe we got to shore at poynt

[a] Blank in MS.; Camb. *Jnl.* has "28th."

compfort & there gott us a fire and lay by it in the woods and it was soe Extreeme could that it froze our watter yt wee had got by the
11mo 2 fire side and on the 2d day of the 11th moneth wee saild & came up with a sloope yt came from barbadoes on whom I had letters from Judge ffrettwell[1] & the wind being against us wee get to the shore & trauelled by land backwards about 10 miles to seek to buy som provissions & wee lay in the woods all night & the wind blew & it snew & was Extreem could very hard for som to abide it
3 but on the 3d day the wind became faire soe wee set forwards by watter & at night lay
4 at milford hauen & 4th day wee passed Ropahamack Riuer where there is much people and friends had a meeting at the Justices house & wee passed potomuck Riuer and had a meeting there & as wee passed thence the watter was very Rough & the sea high & the shoope open & wee were in danger & I was mooued to sitt at the helme most part of the day & night & about the first houre in the night wee came to James prestons in potoxon Riuer & the next day being the first day of the weeke wee went to thee meeting but was uery weary haueing beena tost up and downe in or Jorney & hard lodging in the woods & on the 7th of ye 11th moneth I went to an Indian kings cabben where wee mett with seuerall Indians & they were uery loueing & on the 9th day of ye 11th mō wee went to or Generall meeting, & 12th day wee had a pressious meeting at John Garies[2] & the weather is now soe Extreen Could yt the people could hardly indure it & soe much snow as hath not been a greate while soe that this weeke wee were keept in bit was soe deepb and trauelled not saue two miles one on foot & the other on hors-

a Originally *beeing*, but altered to *haueing been*.

b. . .b An insertion.

22 back. on ye 22d of the 11th mō wee got to John Maiers house 6 miles where wee mett with ffriends frō New-England yt wee before left behind & glad wee were to see each other after or hard trauells they informed us that they left william Edmonson to take ship for Irland & John Veres & Solloman Eckles & Nicho : Alexander[1] for Jamaica & barbadoes & the rest of the Leward Ilands & Jno Stubbs & Jno Baker in the new Countrie Jarsie among friends & 27th day wee had a pressious meeting in a Tobacco-house & it was a time of very Could weather & yn in the midst of the Could brake out a Gust of hott weather that it was soe hott wee could hardly abide for heate & the next night & day Cold againe & wee passed thence 18 miles to James prestons whose house wee found burning occationed by the Carresness of the maid servant at which house wee had left or boxes & or things my greate Chest & clothes & James Lancasters and all burned doune to the Ground there wee lay by the fire 3 nights being uery could ye 30th day wee passed 3 miles & the creeke been ffrozen up the next day wee retorned & the next day indeauered to pass at another creek. but yt was also
12th mō 2 frozen vp & the 2d day of ye 12th mō wee had a glorious meeting at potoxon at the meeting place & after it was don passed 18 miles
6 and on the 6th of the 12th mō was the monethly meeting at the Clifts which was a liueing one
9 praised be the lord 9th of 12th mō wee had a Gloryous meeting & the glory of the lord
12 shined ouer all & on the 12th day wee passed by watter about 70 miles & late in the night wee Run on Ground in a Creek & wee being in an open boat & the weather bitter & cold & frost that som had like to haue lost the use of their hands they was soe frozen & benumed but in the morning when the tyde floated us wee gott to the land & made us a fire and

warmed or sealues & then came on the watter
againe & passed about 10 miles to a friends
14 house, on the 14th day wee had a very
pressious meeting the Justice & his wife
was there & when the meeting was don I
passed 4 miles by land to a Justices house at
15 anemessie[1] & on the 15th day the Judge of the
county came to mee and was uery loueing
and much satisfyed with ffriends order &
they did desire that the same might be spoken
16 againe there & on the 16th day wee had a
lardge and pressious meeting at the Justisses
the house would not hould the people the
Clark of the County & another Justices wife
was there & the people much taken with
truth & there was one that had been a Justice
& an opposer of truth. but all was quiett
17 blessed bee the lord, and on the 17th day
wee passed 8 miles to Captaine Colebournes[2]
he had been Justice & on ye 19th day wee
passed about 9 miles & made som stay
among friends & the 20th day wee had a very
pressious & glorious meeting at the same
Justices house aforementioned & there was
many people of account the late[a] high shirue
the Judge & Captaine & the head secretary
at whose house the priest vsed to preach &
they was all much taken with the truth and
a lardge meeting it was there was 4 masters
of shipps belonging to new England & mar-
chants[b] the pouer of the lord was much mane-
fested blessed be the lord & the 22th day wee
passed through the woods & boggs about
16 miles & headed anemessy riuer & amoroke
riuer & went ouer it in a Cannow & a man
got ouer our horsses & wee came to Manocke[3]
Riuer to a friendly womans house & 24th day
had a good meeting in a barne & the lords
liueing pressents was with us and among the
people blessed be his name foreuer more and

[a] *late* inserted above the line.
[b] *& marchants* inserted above the line.

there was neuer a friends meeting before in
12th mō 24 those parts of ye countrie & the 26th of ye 12th
mō wee passed in a bote about 9 miles ouer
a greate Riuer called Wicococomico[1] to a
ffriends house whos name is James Jones[2]
who is a Justice and the 27th day had a lardge
meeting at his house & it was a glorious
meeting praised be the lord & 28th day wee
passed ouer the watter in a bote & carried
or horsses ouer in it & then Rode through the
woods & swamps & tedious wattery way about
24 miles to a Justices house where we had a
pressious meeting & from thence Jno Cart-
write went with another friend to accomac
in Virginia wher ther is desires after the
first 3 truth & ye 3d day of ye first mō had another
month glorious & pressious meeting at the same
Justices house & there was many people of
account & the liueing presents of the lord was
amongst us & after the meeting was don, wee
passed 4 miles to a friends house & there was
a woman at Anemessie which had been many
yeares in troble & would some tymes sitt
moaping two moneths togeather & hardly
spake nor mind any thing I was moued to
goe to her & tell her that soluation was com
to her house & did spake other words to her
& for her & that houre she mended and passed
up and doune with us to meetings & is well
5 blessed be the lord & the 5th of ye first mō wee
had another meeting at Anemessie it was a
heauenly & liueing one there was two Justices
of the peace & their wifes & many others.
blessed be the lord the truth is ouer all & doth
Rule & now wee are Cleare of these parts,
the 7th day wee passed by watter about 50
miles & came to hunger Riuer[3] to a friendly
10 womans house. & on the 10th day of ye first
mō wee had a meeting where friends neuer
had any before & 14th of 1st mō wee passed
40 miles by watter & came to the head of litle
choptank riuer to docter Winsmores a Justice

of the peace who was lately convinced where wee mett with ffriends & wee passed thence 2 miles. he lent me his horss & went on ffoot to Guide me the way through the woods to one [a]Stephens[1] & on the 16th day I passed by watter about 4 miles to a meeting which was without dores the house being litle the Judge of that Countrie & the Justice & their wifes and many people blessed be the lord who is makeing his name knowne

1 mō. 18 And on the 18th day of the first moneth wee passed 2 miles to visit a friend & on the same day retorned to William Stephens house where friends mett that had been abroad & John Cartwrite & John Gey[2] are gon towards barbadoes who had a very good sauer in Accomack. & was friendly receiued there by the Ruleing men of that Countrie, and the

23 23d of the 1st mō wee had a gloryous meeting and an Established setled one blessed bee the lord forever the Judge of that Countrie & his wife & 3 Justices & the high shiriue & his wife was at it, And the Indiam Emperour & one of their kings & their speaker and all was very loueing & sate all the meeting,

24 & 24th day wee went 10 miles by watter to the Indian towne where their Emperor dwells I had sent before that he should send for his kings & Councell[3] & an ancient Empress sate in Councell with them, the Emperor Came himselfe in the morneing and had mee to their towne & they came togeather generally [b]& had their head speaker among them.[b] & they sate very sober & graue. beyond many & was very loueing & I had two Justic of the peace & som others with mee that did interprit to them & they were very Antentiue it was of good service wee had a uery good meeting blessed be the lord for euer.

[a] Blank in MS.

[b]. . .[b] These words form an insertion.

25 on the 25th day wee Trauelled by land 5 miles & by the Justice of peece was helped ouer a brode Creeke called Fishers Creek he Rowed us ouer in a Canow. then wee came to a dutchmans house a friend & on the 26th day
27 retorned back & ye 27th day wee had a blessed meeting & lardge at William Steuens at greate Choptanck where was 4 Justics of the peace & the Judge of the country & a Justice of corcham of another court & the high shirue of the County & his wife & some other considerable pson a papist & many other people of account. & blessed be the lord his ffresh power was plentiously among his people & when the meeting was don wee passed 4 miles by watter and one by land to a friends house & on the 28th day passed by land 14 miles to Tradehauen Creeck & on ye 30th day had a very pressious meeting & wee passed thence 6 miles & came to miles Riuer[1] & thence to Wie Riuer & had a pressious meeting on the first day of the second mōnth & the Judge of that Countrie & his wife was there & they was uery tender & thereawais the truth is of good sauer blessed bee the lord & on the
2th mō 3 day 3d day of the 2d mō wee came back to tradehauen Riuer & Roanow creek where wee had left our boat & there and there had a glorious meeting very lardge[a] & the glory of the lord did shine to the Edifiing the people & praised
4 be the lord foreuer & on the 4th day wee passed by watter 14 miles & yn on foote two miles by land on the Iland of Kent where ye 6th day wee had a glorious meeting & many more would haue been there but the much
8 raine yt yn fell. hendered & on the 8th day wee passed in a bote ouer the bay to the westeren shore to a friends house where wee mett with som of or frinds yt we had parted from before yt had been abroad in seruice— and there I sent for Thomas Thurston[2] & had

[a] *very lardge* inserted above the line.

a meeting with him to bring truth ouer his
9 Actions & on the 9th day I went about 7 miles to the Spakers of ye Assemblys house : who is the Judge of that countrie who had much desired mee before he & his wife is uery
10 loueing & on the 10th day wee had a uery liueing meeting blessed be the lord for euer, it was in a schoole house & there was seuerall people of account a Judges wife & one of ye councells wifes & one of the Assemblie was there & was uery loueing the glouer of the lord & his truth is ouer. and on the 11th day wee passed downe the bay to a friends house on ye Clifts.

2d mō and on the 20th day of the 2d moneth wee had a meeting at potoxon meeting place & from thence ouer a Creeck to a friends house where wee spent a weeke haueing much writeing &
27 answering &a & on the 27th day had a meeting againe & the heauenly presents of the lord was felt amongst us glory to the lord for euer
28 the 28th day wee pased about 3 miles. & ouer a Creek to looke after a shipp to takea our passage for England & on the 29th day went to Hoopers Creeck & on the 30th day I had a uery good speatch with an Indian that could spake English & their kinge was present

3d mō. 1 and the first day of the 3d mō I went a mile to an Indians Cabbin where the king & his companie was & stayed a while with them &
4 retorned & on the 4th day wee had a uery pressious meeting & on the 5th day passed through the woods about 8 miles & the 6th day of ye 5th [*sic*] mō passed 10 miles & at night had a pressious meeting at the house that was peter sharps & on the 8th day one of the gouernors Councell came to the house were I was & I had discource with him he was Ciuell but is a greate papist, in Egipt ; Darkness,
11 on the 11th day of ye 3d mō wee had a glorious meeting at the Clifts 15th day there came to

a *shipping* written and then erased.

me a Justice from potomack in virginia a pretty man. who had been under persecution & threatned by the preist & others he & his man came 40 miles on foote & had a greate loue to the truth. & wee passed through the
15 woods about 22 miles and ye 16th day about 13 miles & the 17th day I was at the men & weomens generall meeting of that province about the affaires of the Church of god, & on
18 ye 18th & 19a days was the generall meeting & a wonderfull and a glorious meeting it was the mighty presents of the lord ouer all was seen blessed & praised be his name for euer amen and there was bothe Justeses & Assembly men & of the Gouernors Councell & many other people of account and all reached & went away satisfyed & the life & power of the lord is ouer all blessed be his name for euer & after the meeting wee passed doune by watter & land 50 miles & in the night wee mett with the boate that came for us to fetch us on bord the ship and many ffriends went downe with us in another boat on board the shipp called the society of bristoll and on the
3d mo 21 21th day wee came on shippbord & many friends stayed with us all that night & ye
22 22th day wee drew Anchor & sayled but about one mile to poynt patience & there cast Anchor the wind being against us & there
23 came on bord us a docter a man of note & Esteeme. who did atcknowlidg & Confess to the truth & said he had neuer heard G ff before & 23d drue Anchor againe & sailed
24 about one mile more & 24th drue Anchor againe & sayled about 6 or 7 miles neare Seader Poynt & there cast anchor againe this day came on bord us Richard Couell, who had lost his shipp being taken by the
25 Dutch on the 25th day wee drew Anchor & sayled downe the bay & it being the first day of the weeke wee had a uery pressious meeting

a & 19 inserted above the line.

on bord the shipp & the wind being against us wee cast Anchor againe in the bay & the
26 26th day Drew anchor againe and sayled ouer against potomack Riuer & there cast Anchor
27 & 27th day wee drue Anchor againe & sayled ouer potomack Riuer wch is about 20 miles. & Rode by the poynt called litle wicocomicoe
28 and on the 28th day wee drue anchor againe & sayled & in the Euening the wether being foule & the wind against us cast Anchor againe neare greate Wicocomaco & on the
29 29th day wee drue Anchor & sayled & that night Rode[a] in Rapahanack Riuer neare
30 peancedanck and on the 30th day drue Anchor and sayled & the next morning being
31 the 31th day of ye 3d mō About the 8th houre wee left the Capes of Virginia & came into the maine Ocian & there I first[b] espied a ship & sayd yonder is a sayle wch put a question in the sea mens minds what shee should bee but I felt from the lord shee was not an Enemie and should doe us noe hurt soo shee passed by us up towards the bay, and on the
4th mō 1 first of the 4th moneth we had a pressious meeting on bord or shipp with the seamen
2 & on the 2d day of the 4th mō wee had high winds & or boult spirt was loose that wee was forct to torne or shipp to lye on the stayes sometyme to mend it & in the night had much thunder & Raine & high winds yt wee took
3 in most of the sayles & the 3 day the wind was west & not soe high blessed be the lord.
4th mo 4th And on the 4th day of ye 4th mō wee Espied another shipp wch put many thoughts into the seamen but I felt the power of the lord ouer all I had seen beefore in a vission two shipps on the west side wch passed by us & did us
6 noe hurt & soe they did & the 6th day we had
7 a fayer wind wch continued also the 7th day & now wee are on or voyadge neare 700 miles

[a] First written *Road* and altered to *Rode*.
[b] *I first* inserted above the line.

8 & on the 8th day had a blessed meeting to-
9 geather wth the sea men & on the 9th day had a storme & much Raine but a Calme towards
12 night on the 12th day wee had got on our
13 voyadge aboue 1200 miles and on the 13th day wee had very tempestious winds wch made the sea like Mountains Roaring like Cannons about the shipp & wee ouer bed seta the seamen said they neuer saw such seas in their liues but the lord preserued us through & ouer all all who Rideth vpon the whings of the winds & who is lord of the heauens & Earth & the sea blessed bee his name whose wounders are seen in the greate deepe this day wee sayled 150 miles the wind was
15 for us though A storme 15th day wee sayled 150 miles. this day wee had a pressious meeting againe with the sea men & the presents of the lord was amongst us blessed be his name for euer.

Wee are now passed out of the sea of America
16 & are in the Ocian of Europ & 16th day wee sayled 110 miles and are in the latetude of 44: 17th day wee sayled 125 miles & had a good wind blessed be the lord who steared our cource 18th day wee had a pressious meeting open to the people & the lord was amongst us blessed & praised be the lord god 19th 20th & 21th the wind & weather continued Indiferant fayre 22th day being the first day of the weeke wee had a pressious meeting blessed be the lord god foreuer & by the 24th day gat to the lattetude 50 & haue a good wind & 25th day being ffoggy wee sounded & Cast out about 100 featham but could find noe bottom 26th day wee had a pressious meeting blessed be the lord & at at night sounded and found Ground at 60 featham & 27th day wee sayled neare 150 miles & had a good wind south south west & at night sounded & found it at 35 featham

[a] In another MS. the words are *& wee in our beds sett up*.

and the wind being high wee took doune our sayles & let her driue stearing north fearing ye land, & at midnight they did deserne the Iland of Londy then they was greatly glad for all was upon the watch & the 28th day of ye 4th mō wee cast Anchor about the first houre in the afternone at Kingroad (the harbour of bristoll) & there lay a man of Warr who came on bord to press our men & took 4 & there wee had a very pressious meeting with the sea men & the press masters stayed the meeting & liked it uery well & one of them said he was more refreshed by hearing of us then any other people, And after the meeting was don I spake to him that he would leaue 2 men that they had prest one was lame the other was the Cheeif mate & he said for my words he would & soe wee came off the ship in a boat to land & it was Raine & dirty & wee walked on foote about a mile & a friend got me a horss & brought mee to the towne called sherhampton where wee stayed a while & there got horsses & came that Evening to Bristoll being the 28th day of ye 4th mō, blessings & praises & thanks bee to the lord for euer & euer amen.

Soe wee was 28 dayes on our voyadge from the Capes of Virginia to Bristoll &[a]

[The cover of this MS. is part of a parchment certificate of the marriage of William Wallis and Ann Amos, Friends, at Bristol in 1673.]

[a] The MS. comes here to an abrupt conclusion. Another MS. adds, *wee were 10 dayes on ye shipp in maryland & virginia on the water before wee cleared y^e capes, soe in all wee were on the water 38 dayes.*

NOTES.

5. [1] There is a full account of the outward voyage in Camb. *Jnl.* ii. 176-186.

5. [2] Camb. and Ell. *Jnls.* give the *3rd* as the date of landing on Barbados.

5. [3] For Barbados, see Camb. *Jnl.*

5. [4] Col. Christopher Codrington was Lieut. Governor at this time. See Camb. *Jnl.*

5. [5] For Thomas Rous, see Camb. *Jnl.*

6. [1] Sir Thomas Lynch was the Governor of Jamaica at this time, having been knighted and having received the appointment in 1670. He was recalled in 1676, but sent out again in 1682. He died on the Island in 1684 [?] (*D.N.B.*). See *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, 1671-1672, 1672, 1672-1673.

6. [2] For Solomon Eccles, see Camb. *Jnl.*

7. [1] *Patuxent* River—the name is written in numerous different ways.

8. [1,2] For George Pattison and James Preston, see Camb. *Jnl.*

8. [3] Each Indian tribe had a *Chief* or *Sachem*, and the Chiefs of the various tribes forming a confederation chose one of their number to be the *Head Chief* of the confederation. "The Head Chief, with two others, has to take care of the National Concerns, to cherish the Friendship with other nations. None can rule or command absolute, he has no Preference, nobody is forced to give him anything, but he is commonly well provided with meat, and the Women assist his Wife in planting, that he may get much corn, because he must be hospitable, and his House open to all. They are generally courteous and conversable. He has the Keeping of the Council Bag with the Belts, etc., and his House is commonly the Council House and therefore large. The chief Duty of a Chief is to preserve Peace as long as possible; he cannot make war without the consent of the Captains . . . Captains are not chosen. A Dream or an enthusiastic Turn for War, with which an old conjuror joins, persuading the man that he would be a lucky Captain, is his call, upon which he acts. After he has been six or seven times in War so lucky as to lose none of his company, or got for each one lost, a Prisoner, he is declared Captain. If the contrary happens he is broke. There are seldom many Captains, yet always some in each Tribe." (Rev. John Ettwein, Moravian Missionary and Bishop in Pennsylvania, 1754 to 1802; his treatise on the Indians was written in 1788, and published in the *Bulletin of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, vol. i.)

9. [1] That is, Robert Widders. See Camb. *Jnl.*

9. [2] For John Burnyeat, see Camb. *Jnl.*

9. [3] The Indians excelled in the craft of wood and water, and cheerfully placed their talents at the service of the whites, usually for a trifling recompense. In 1661 an Indian agreed to carry a letter from Christina (Newcastle, Delaware) to Manhattan in four or five days, a distance of 120 miles by direct road, and probably about 175 miles by the ordinary paths; he was to receive for this service "a piece of cloth or a pair of socks." (*N.Y. Colonial Documents*, xii. 334.)

The only Indian path in New Jersey of which there is any record was one running from the mouth of the Shrewsbury River in a N.W. direction, crossing the Raritan River a little to the west of Amboy, and thence in a N. direction to Minisink Island in the Delaware River, near the northern boundary of the State. This was probably the chief Indian thoroughfare (W. A. Whitehead, *East Jersey under the Proprietary Governments*, Newark, N.J., 1846, 2nd edition, 1875, p. 28). The only road opened by the Dutch in New Jersey appears to be that by which intercourse was kept up with the settlements on the Delaware. It ran from Elizabethtown Point, or thereabout, to the Raritan River, near the present site of New Brunswick; the Raritan was forded at low water, and the road ran thence in almost a straight line to the Delaware (above the present site of Trenton). This was called the "upper road"; the "lower road" branched off five or six miles from the Raritan, and reached the Delaware by a more circuitous route at the present site of Burlington. (*Ibid.*, p. 235, *cp.* Danker and Sluyter's *Journal*, 1679.)

9. [4] Wye River forms, in part, the boundary between Talbot and Queen Anne's Counties.

9. [5] Chester River rises on the boundary between Kent Co., Md. and Delaware.

9. [6] That is, *Sasafras* River, which rises on the boundary between Kent Co., Md. and Delaware.

9. [7] That is, *Delaware River.*

"Here is a brave River Fishing and Fowling; the Whales run ashore here sometimes, and for Sturgeon, and all other fish here are abundance, we want Coopers to make Barrels, Tubbs, etc." (Letter from Roger Pedrick, dated, "From Delaware River, the 14th day of the 4th Month, 1676," in *A Further Account of New Jersey . . .*, 1676, pp. 12-13. Pedrick was a partner on the "plantation" of Robert Wade at Upland, or Chester, Pa.)

"Betwixt that [the Raritan River] and Delewer Bay, which is about sixty miles, all is a rich Champain Countrey, free from stones and indifferent level; store of excellent good timber, and very well watered, having brooks or rivers ordinarily, one or more in every miles travel. The Countrey is full of Deer, Elks, Bear, and other Creatures, as in other parts of the Countrey, where you shall meet with no inhabitant in this journey, but a few Indians, where there is stately Oaks whose broad-branched tops serve for no other use but to keep off the Suns heat from the Wilde Beasts of the Wilderness where is grass as high as a man's middle that serves for no other use except to maintain the Elks and Deer, who never devour a hundredth part of it, then to be burnt every Spring to make way for New. How many poor people in the world would think themselves happy, had

they an Acre or two of land, whilst here is hundreds, nay thousands of Acres, that would invite inhabitants." (Daniel Denton, *A Brief Description of New York, formerly called New Netherlands*, 1670, p. 12.)

9. [8] John Burnyeat explains this difficulty as follows: "And when we were over, we could not get an Indian for a Guide; and our Dutchman we had hired, would not go without an Indian; so we were forced to stay there that day. And the next day he rode about to seek an Indian but could get none to go; and so late in the Evening there came some over from the other side from the Town, and we hired one: and so began our Journey early next Morning, to travel through that Country, which now is called New Jersey." (*Journal*, pp. 44, 45.)

William Edmondson writes: "We took our Journey [from Middletown, East-New-Jersey] through the Wilderness towards Mary-land, to cross the River at Delaware Falls. We hired an Indian to guide us; but he took us wrong, and left us in the Woods; when it was late we alighted, put our Horses to Grass, and kindled a Fire by a little Brook, convenient for Water to drink; so lay down till Morning, but were at a great Loss concerning the Way, being all Strangers in the Wilderness: Richard Hartshorn advised to go to Rarington [Raritan] River, about Ten Miles back, as was supposed, to find out a small landing Place from New York, from whence there was a small Path, that led to Delaware Falls, so we rode back, and in some time found the landing Place, and little Path, then the Two Friends committed us to the Lords Guidance, and went back." (*Journal*, pp. 92, 93.)

9. [9] The Indian huts were called *Wigwams* (pronounced *Wee-kwams*, and so spelled by Zeisberger, *Wikwam* in his grammar and *Wiquoam* in his dictionary of the Delaware or Lenape language). "Their Houses are Mats or Barks of Trees, set on Poles, in the fashion of an English Barn, but out of the power of the Winds, for they are hardly higher than a man; they lie on Reeds or Grass." (William Penn's Letter, Philadelphia, August 16th, 1683, printed in Richard Blome's *The Present State of His Majesties Isles and Territories in America*, London, 1687, p. 98. Sometimes the huts would be made of young trees bent down towards a common center, the branches interlaced and fastened together, as a framework, and covered with bark so closely laid on as to be very warm and rain-proof. (F. D. Pastorius, 1685, in *Memoirs Hist. Soc. Pa.*, vol. iv. pt. ii. p. 96; Gabriel Thomas, *An Historical Description of the Province of West-New-Jersey in America*," London, 1698.) Roger Williams in his *Key*, 1643, p. 40, wrote of their sleeping quarters:

> "God gives them sleep on Ground, on Straw,
> on Sedgie Mats or Boord;
> When English Softest Beds of Downe,
> sometimes no sleep afford."

"The guest would be given a seat on a mat in the middle of the wigwam, and would be invited to help himself, out of the earthen pot, which in the beginning never knew the potter's wheel, and in its later existence was totally unacquainted with the cleansing properties of soap and water. Meat and fish and vegetables were all alike cooked in the same vessel, without salt or other seasoning than hunger. . . . Some squaws, of course, were more skilful

than others, and knew how to prepare Indian corn in a dozen different ways: but the Indian's ordinary breakfast and dinner was maize powdered in a mortar till it was crushed into a soft mass, and then boiled. This was his *ach-poan*, softened by the Indians of Southern New Jersey into *as-poan*, whence the Dutch *sapaen* or *suppaen*, the Swedish *Sappan*, and the Virginia *corn-pone*" (William Nelson, *The Indians of New Jersey*, Paterson, N.J., 1894, pp. 29, 30.) *Cp.* Burnyeat's *Journal*, p. 45.

10. [1] Between 1664 and 1672, many "industrious reputable farmers, the English inhabitants from the west end of Long-Island," came to East New Jersey and settled Middletown; Shrewsbury was settled by families from New England. The Dutch had preceded these English settlers, and many Scotch soon followed them. (Smith, *New Jersey*, 1765, p. 62.)

"There are 7 Towns settled in this Province . . . most of these Towns having about 100 families; and the least 40. The Country is very healthful, etc. In Middletown, where I live, in six years and upwards there have died but one Woman about 80 years old, one Man about 60, a Boy about five years old, and one little Infant or two; there are in this Town, in twenty five Families about 95 children most of them under 12 years of age, and all lusty children." (Richard Hartshorne's letter, dated "New Jersie, Midleton, 12 of the 9th Month, 1675.") By 1682, Middletown had about 100 families, several thousand acres in the town, and many thousands in the adjoining plantations. John Bowne, Richard Hartshorne, and Nicholas Davis were the largest planters. (Smith, *New Jersey*, p. 158.)

10. [2] Richard Hartshorne was "a considerable setler" who arrived at Middletown in 1669. It was not until the year of G. F.'s visit that the governor and council of East New Jersey were instructed to purchase all lands from the Indians and to reimburse themselves from the settlers. Meanwhile Richard Hartshorne had met with some difficulty, as he relates in the following account: "The Indians came to my house and laid their hands on the post and frame of the house and said that house was theirs, they never had any thing for it, and told me if I would not buy the land, I must be gone. But I minded it not, thinking it was Davis's land, and they wanted to get something of me; they at last told me they would kill my cattle, and burn my hay, if I would not buy the land nor be gone; then I went to the Patentees . . . ; they told me it was never bought nor had the Indians any thing for it. Nicolls [the first English governor of New Netherlands] desired of them and the Indians also, only to have leave to set a trading house, and at that time they did not intend any one should have the land, but keep it for the use of the country, always giving leave for any man to trade with goods and otherwise; but I told them I would not live on those terms, and not only so, but it was dangerous, for the Indians threatened to kill my cattle; they told me no man had power to buy, but the patentees, and they would buy it; thus it continued some months. I considered the thing as well as I then was capable, and went to Gravesend [Long Island] and bought William Goulder [one of the patentees] out, and when I came back the Indians were at me and I did [buy them out also."]. (Quoted in Smith, *New Jersey*, p. 63, n.)

In a letter written by Richard Hartshorne, dated "New Jersie, Midleton, 12 of the 9th month, 1675," he says: "Thou desirest to know how I live, through the goodness of the Lord I live very well, keeping between 30 and 40 head of Cows, and 7 or 8 Horses or Mares to ride upon," etc. (*A Further Account of New Jersey, in an Abstract of Letters Lately Writ from thence, By several Inhabitants there Resident:* Printed in the year 1676, pp. 1-3.) Richard Hartshorne's brother Hugh was one of the twelve proprietors—including William Penn—of the Province of East New Jersey in 1682. Richard H. came from London in September, 1669. He was a Quaker of good reputation, public character, and of a benevolent disposition, in those early times. (Proud, *Pa.*, i. 138.)

October 27th, 1677, Richard Hartshorne obtained a lease of three acres, with the privilege of the exclusive range of Sandy Hook for the benefit of his cattle, in consideration of his intention to establish a fishery at that point, the lords proprietary reserving the right to erect what fortifications there they might think proper. (*East Jersey Records*, vol. ii., lib. i., pt. 2nd, p. 91.)

Appointed, 1676, by William Penn and the three other proprietors of West-New-Jersey, to serve as one of three commissioners to govern that colony: the letter containing the appointment and instructions is published, partly, in Proud's *Pa.*, vol. i., part ii. pp. 138, 139.

William Edmondson held a meeting at Richard Hartshorne's in 1675, and was accompanied by him a day's journey on the way to Maryland. (*Journal*, pp. 92, 93.)

10. [3] The term "hatt spirits" denotes those Friends who separated from the main body on various points of procedure, especially on the question of wearing the hat during public prayer. See Camb. *Jnl.*

10. [4] The Dutch persecution of the Quakers on Long Island in 1656, and again in 1662, 1663 and 1664, caused a number of them to purchase lands in East Jersey in 1665; among these purchasers were John Bound (or Bowne), and they settled Middletown and Shrewsbury, N. J.

John Bowne represented Middletown and Shrewsbury in the first Assembly held in New Jersey, from the 26th to the 30th of May, 1668. For more respecting him, see Camb. *Jnl.*; also Parsons, *The Quaker Cross*, 1911.

10. [5] In 1636 Roger Williams and some of his followers, being banished from Mass., settled at a place which he named Providence, "in a sense of God's merciful Providence to them in their distress."

In 1638 Sir Henry Vane, the Younger, William Coddington and other "Antinomians" of Mass., bought from the Indians the island called Aquetneck (or Aquidneck), the name of which was changed in 1664 to Rhode Island.

In 1663, the two settlements were finally united under the name of The Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations. "The Island of Rhode Island, which is about fourteen or fifteen miles long, and about four or five miles broad (though of unequal breadth), is deservedly esteemed the Paradise of New-England, for the fruitfulness of the soil, and the temperateness of the climate; that though it be not above sixty-five miles south of Boston, is a coat warmer in winter, and being surrounded by the

ocean is not so much affected in summer with the hot land breezes, as the towns on the continent." (Neale, *History of New England*, p. 595.)

When the Friends first arrived in Mass. in 1656, the New England Commissioners appealed to Rhode Island to banish the heretics; but the R.I. Assembly refused to comply with this demand, and in a letter to the Agent of R.I. in England, instructed him as follows: "Plead our cause [with Cromwell and his Council] in such sort as that we may not be compelled to exercise any civil power over men's consciences, so long as human orders in point of civility are not corrupted and violated." (Staples, 1843, p. 122.)

Rhode Island was inhabited by the powerful Narragansett Indians, who were so numerous, says Roger Williams, that a traveller would meet with a dozen Indian towns in twenty miles; their warriors were estimated to be 5,000. They were annihilated, as a people, in King Philip's War, which commenced about three years after Fox's visit.

10. [6] Nicholas Easton was President of the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations from 1650 to 1652, and Governor of the same from 1672 to 1674. At the foundation of the Colony, in 1638, he had been one of the three "Assistants" chosen to assist the presiding "Judge"; in 1640 and from 1642 to 1651 he held the same relation to the "Governor"; in 1653 he had served as "Assistant" for Newport; in 1654, as President of the General Assembly. See Camb. *Jnl.*

10. [7] Easton's deputy was John Cranston. See Camb. *Jnl.*

11. [1] That is, William Coddington. See Camb. *Jnl.*

Book for recording marriages contains the following memorandum written on the inside of the cover: "Friends two books bought at Boston cost 20 shillings, the biggest for births and Deaths, and the lesser book for marriages only, so ordered at the mans meeting of frends at the House of William Coddington in the towne of New Port in Road Island in the yeare 1672, the 22th day of 8-m 1672." On the first page of this book is recorded the death, in 1647, of Mary Coddington, the wife of William, with the statement that she "was buried in the burying place of Friends that was given to Friends by William Coddington, her husband" (*Bulletin of Friends' Historical Society of Phila.*, i. 56). A later record reads: "William Coddington Dyed being Govenour of this Colony, and he was one of the first Planters and Purchastors of this Island of the Natives and he was buried on the 6 day of ye 9 mo. 1678." (*Ibid.*, p. 58.)

The Coddington Burial Ground is in Farewell St., near Marlborough, a short distance beyond the old Friends' Meeting House, on the opposite side of the street. Just inside the gate is a plain stone with the inscription: "Erected by the citizens of the town of Newport, in memory of William Coddington, that illustrious man who purchased the island from the Narragansett Indians in 1639." (*Ibid.*, pp. 60, 76.)

The first Friends' Meeting House in Rhode Island was erected in Newport in 1700. This was forty-two years after their first settlement in Rhode Island, and during this period they met in private houses, one of them being the home of Governor Coddington, where the Yearly Meeting was held until his death

in 1678. (John Callender, *Historical Discourse on . . . Rhode Island*, 1739, p. 238.) In 1651, Coddington went to England and procured from the Council of State a commission appointing him Governor of Rhode Island for life; but this commission was repealed the next year through the exertions of Roger Williams.

11. [2] See Camb. *Jnl.* "There are many indications in Friends' journals and in other contemporary documents, that Ranters abounded in many parts of the Colonies during the seventeenth century." (R. M. Jones, *Quakers in the American Colonies*, p. 113.)

13. [1,2] This should be *Nathaniel*, and not *Joseph* Sylvester. He married Griselda (or Grissel) Brinley, dau. of Thomas and Anne (Wase) Brinley; her father was Auditor-General of Charles I. and Charles II. *Cp.* Thomas C. Cornell's *Adam and Anne Mott: Their Ancestors and Their Descendants.*

Thomas Brocksupp, of Little Normanton, 5th Mo. (July) 8, 1664, writes in letter to John Bowne: "And dear John Bowne, as the Lord gives thee opportunity, my dear love to Nathaniel Sylvester of Shelter Island, whose tender love and fatherly care of my wife [Joane B. ?] when she was with him, the Lord God of my life render into his bosom an hundred fold." (*Bulletin of Friends' Historical Society of Phila.*, ii. 56). In 1659, Lawrence and Cassandra Southwick, exiled from Mass., sought and found refuge in this the shelter of N. S.'s island home.

"And so after a long and tedious Voyage, wherein we pass'd through many Storms and Tempests, we arrived at Shelter-Island, where we were received very kindly by one Nathaniel Silvester, a Captain in the Country on the main Land; for this Island was his own: And he had a great many Indians lived on it, and they were Friendly and Sober, and made Serviceable to Friends for Guides, etc., when we travelled into the Countries." (John Taylor's *Journal*, 1710, p. 5., Account of his Journey in 1659.)

See Camb. *Jnl.*

14. [1,2] For James Lancaster and Christopher Holder, see Camb *Jnl.*

14. [3] For John Winthrop, Governor of Connecticut, see Camb. *Jnl.*

14. [4] Jamaica is a town on Long Island.

15. [1,2] For John Stubbs and New Jersey, see Camb. *Jnl.*

15. [3] By 1682, Shrewsbury was a township, comprising several thousand acres, with large plantations contiguous to it. The number of inhabitants was computed to be about 400. Lewis Morris, of Barbados, had iron works here, employing sixty or seventy negroes, besides white servants and dependants. (Smith, *New Jersey*, p. 158; Whitehead, *East Jersey*, p. 122; George Scot, *The Model of New Jersey.*)

The Shrewsbury Meeting was regularly settled in 1670, and is said by Proud (i. 161, n.) to have been the first in New Jersey.

15. [4] That is, John Jay, for whom see Camb. *Jnl.*

17. [1] This island is usually called Matinicunk, and is the upper island between Burlington, N.J., and Bristol, Pa. It was settled by Robert Stacy, who gave it to the town of Burlington; and in 1682 it was confirmed by a proprietary law for the use of a free school forever. (Smith, *New Jersey*, p. 69, n.)

In Ell. *Jnl.*, bicent. ed., the name has been incorrectly altered to Tinicum.

17. [2] In 1651, Governor Stuyvesant of New Netherland built Fort Casimir on the site of the present Newcastle, and the small Dutch town which grew up near it was called New Amstel, in honour of its mother-city, Amsterdam, and its river Amstel. In 1664, when the English conquered the Dutch in America, the place was rechristened Newcastle, and incorporated by the Government at New York in 1672.

18. [1] For Robert *Harwood*, see Camb. *Jnl.*

18. [2] For John Edmondson, see Camb. *Jnl.* From August to November, 1678, he was a member from Baltimore Co., Md., of the House of Delegates (*Md. Archives*, vi. 4, 7); he served on committees of the same (*ibid.* vi. 11, 50, 123, 130, 131, 133, 141, 147, 174), and was voted 8,394 lbs. of tobacco by the same (*ibid.* vi. 90). He was a member of the House in April and May, 1682 (*ibid.* vi. 276, 278, 317). In September, 1666, Edmondson and John Pitts petitioned the Lieutenant General of Md. for licence "to trade and trafficque w^th^ any Indian w^thin^ the Province for Beauer and Roanoke or other Commodities to the uallue of two hundred weight of Beauer or other Skinns and Two Thowsand Armes length of Roanoke." The licence was granted "provided they be accompable for the tenth part of all Beauer soe by them traded for, to the Lieutenant Generall for the time being." (*Md. Archives*, iii. 555, 556.)

18. [3] For Henry Wilcox, see Camb. *Jnl.*

19. [1] "They cultivate among themselves a most scrupulous honesty, are unwavering in keeping promises, insult no one, are hospitable to strangers, and faithful even to death to their friends." (Pastorius, ca. 1685 : *Memoirs Hist. Soc. Pa.*, vol. iv. pt. ii. p. 96.)

"In former times they were quite truthful, although oaths were not customary among them. But it was not so in later times, after they had more intercourse with Christians." (Acrelius, 1759, p. 53.)

The mysteries of life and death, and the Indians' vague belief in a future life, gave rise to their active belief in a supernatural power referred to under the name *Manito* (pronounced mah-neé-to), or the *Wonder-worker*. This power was both good and evil, and resided in every animate or inanimate object. (Heckewelder, ca. 1800 ; Brinton, 219.) "They have a modest religious persuasion, not to disturb any man, either themselves, English, Dutch, or any in their conscience, and worship." (Roger Williams, *Key*, p. 113.)

19. [2] Tred Avon Creek, a tributary of the Choptank River, Talbot Co., Md.

19. [3] See note [a] on next page. The transcriber has been able to reconstruct the following sentences. Where the "points" occur the original writing cannot be read.

21. [1] Justice Frisby was one of six men to whom William Penn wrote from London in 1681, advising them that their plantations were within his Province, and cautioning them to pay no more taxes to Lord Baltimore. (*Md. Archives*, v. 285, 375, 393.) See also Camb. *Jnl.*

21. [2] Severn was at or near Annapolis, the capital of Maryland.

21. [3] Thomas Notley was, at this time, the Speaker of the Lower House of the Maryland Assembly.

21. [4] For William *Coale*, see Camb. *Jnl.*

21. [5] See Camb. *Jnl.* In Jan., 1664, a Commission was granted by the Council of Md. "to Christopher and Abraham Birkeheadd for trade w^th^ the Indians." (*Md. Archives*, iii. 489.)

22. [1] For Peter Sharpe see Camb. *Jnl.* In February 1669/70 he was appointed a "Gent. Commissioner of the Peace for the county of Calvert." (*Md. Archives*, v. 62, see i. 359, 362.)

22. [2] This is one of several somewhat laudatory references to George Fox, which appear in the Camb. *Jnl.*, but which were omitted from the Ell. *Jnl.* (see pp. 10, 19, 23; Camb. *Jnl.* i. xl.)

22. [3] It is not clear whether this was Plymouth in New England or Plymouth in Old England.

22. [4] This is Nansemond River and County, Carolina, not Virginia, as the early Friends were accustomed to call it.

23. [1,2] For Widow Wright and Col. Dews, see Camb. *Jnl.*

23. [3] William *Yarrow* in Camb. and Ell. *Jnls.*

23. [4] For Thomas Jordan, see Camb. *Jnl.*

23. [5] Camb. *Jnl.* has "where wee mett with ffriends."

24. [1] For Hugh *Smith*, see Camb. *Jnl.*

24. [2] The colony of Albemarle, now a part of North Carolina, was often called Roanoke by early writers. For Captain Batts, see Camb. *Jnl.*

24. [3] The name Maritick River was applied in Fox's time to Roanoke River and Albemarle Sound. (W. L. Saunders, Prefatory Notes to the North Carolina Colonial Record, vol. i.) In the bi-cent. ed. of Ell. *Jnl.*, *Roanoke* takes the place of *Maritick*.

24. [4] Cone-oak Bay is the modern Edenton Bay, N.C.

24. [5] Perhaps, Peter Carteret, one of the "lost Governors of Albemarle."

25. [1] Ockanickon was an Indian sachem who died about 1680 at Burlington, N.J., and was buried, at his own request, in the Friends' Burial Ground at that place. He is reported to have admonished his nephew in the following words: "I would have you love what is good, and keep good company; refuse what is evil and by all means avoid bad company. . . . I would have you cleanse your ears and take all foulness out, that you may hear both good and evil, and then join with the good and refuse the evil; and also cleanse your eyes, that you may see good and evil, and when you see evil, do not join with it, but join to that which is good." Thomas Budd, one of the proprietors of New Jersey, who was present, remarked that there was a great God that created all things, and gave man an understanding of what was good and bad; and the Indian replied: "It is very true, it is so; there are two ways, a broad and a straight way; . . . the worst and the greatest number go in the broad, the best and fewest in the straight path." (Smith, *New Jersey*, pp. 148-150.)

25. [2] For Joseph Scott, see Camb. *Jnl.*

25. [3] For Henry *Phillips*, see Camb. *Jnl.*

25. [4] In 1679, an Indian, named Jasper or Tantaqué, residing near Hackensack, N.J., and about eighty years of age at that time, described the Creation in the following way: He first drew a circle a little oval, to which he made four paws or feet, a head and a tail. "This," he said, "is a tortoise, lying in the water around it," and he moved his hand around the figure, continuing, "This is or was all water, and so at first was the world or the earth, when the tortoise gradually raised its round back up high, and the water ran off of it, and thus the earth became dry." He then took a little straw and placed it on end in the middle of the figure and proceeded, "The earth was now dry, and there grew a tree in the middle of the earth, and the root of this tree sent forth a sprout beside it, and there grew upon it a man, who was the first male. This man was then alone, and would have remained alone; but the tree bent over until its top touched the earth, and there shot therein another root, and there grew upon it the woman, and from these two are all men produced." Another aged Indian, named Hans, living near Bergen, N.J., on being told of Tantaqué's account, replied: "That is true, but *Kickeron* made the tortoise, and the tortoise had a power and a nature to produce all things, such as earth, trees, and the like, which God [Kickeron ?] wished through it to produce, or have produced." (Jasper Danker and Peter Sluyter's *Journal of a Voyage to New York . . . in 167-80*; translated from the Dutch, and published in Memoirs of the Long Island Hist. Soc., Vol. i., pp. 150, 151, 267, 268.)

25. [5] Burning as a future punishment for sin was several times mentioned by Fox, when addressing Indians, see Camb. *Jnl.*, ii. 236, 445.

26. [1] Ell. *Jnl.* adds "whom they call a Pauwaw."

"The *Powaws* are a sort of persons who are supposed to have the power of foretelling future events, or recovering the sick, at least often times, and of charming, inchanting or poisoning persons to death by their magic divinations. Their spirit, in its various operations, seems to be a satanical imitation of the spirit of prophecy with which the church in the early ages was favoured. Some of these diviners are endowed with the spirit in infancy; others in adult age. It seems not to depend on their own will, nor to be acquired by any endeavours of the person who is the subject of it, although it is supposed to be given to children sometimes in consequence of some means the parents use with them for that purpose; one of which is to make the child swallow a small living frog, after having performed some superstitious rites and ceremonies upon it. They are not under the influence of this spirit always alike,—but it comes upon them at times. Those who are endowed with it, are accounted singularly favored." (Rev. David Brainerd, missionary to the Delaware Indians in New Jersey and Pa., *Memoirs*, 1749.) Roger Williams admitted reluctantly that the powaws "doe most certainly (by the helpe of the Divell) worke great Cures, though most certaine it is that the greatest part of their Priests doe merely abuse them and get their Money, in the times of their sicknesse, and to my knowledge long for sick times." (*Key*, p. 158.)

27. [1] *Norton* in Camb. *Jnl.*

27. [2] This may be Currituck Creek; Currituck County and Court House are in the modern North Carolina.

28. [1] John Porter, pioneer colonist and Friend, is first mentioned in the records of Norfolk Co., Va., Dec. 16th, 1647, when an order was entered allowing him 100 pounds of tobacco for killing a wolf; March 16th, 1648, a similar order appears. Jan. 17, 1652, he was granted a certificate for 200 acres of land for having brought four persons into the colony; March 29, 1655, he was appointed a justice of the County Court; August 15, 1655, he was married to Mary Savill; Jan. 13, 1661, a governor's patent granted him 300 acres of land. In 1663, he represented Lower Norfolk County in the Virginia House of Burgesses, and was reported to that body by John Hill, the High Sheriff of Norfolk Co., as being "loving to the Quakers, well affected towards them, an attendant at their meetings, and so far an Anabaptist as to be against the baptizing of children." Accordingly, on September 12, 1663, he was tried before the House, and confessed that he was loving to Friends, but challenged his accusers to establish the truth of their accusations. The oath of supremacy was then administered to him, and on his refusal to subscribe to it, he was expelled the same day from the House. Two months later, November 17, 1663, he was fined 200 pounds of tobacco for attending a Quaker Meeting, 50 pounds of tobacco for not attending public worship, and 350 pounds of tobacco for setting out tobacco plants on Sunday. August 16, 1671, he was appointed road surveyor for the Eastern Branch Section of Norfolk Co.; April 17, 1672, he was appointed one of the Justices of the Quorum of Norfolk Co., and served until August 17, 1675, soon after which he died. His will was recorded February 15, 1676. From the fact that he was at the time of his death a commissioner of the Association of Nansemond River Fort, it has been argued that he was not a member of the Society of Friends, although "loving towards them." (J. W. H. Porter's Extracts from the Court Records of Norfolk Co., quoted in S. B. Weeks, *Southern Quakers and Slavery*, pp. 23, 24, note.) See Camb. *Jnl.*

28. [2] For Thomas *Goade*, see Camb. *Jnl.*

29. [1] For Judge Frettwell, see Camb. *Jnl.*

29. [2] For John *Gary*, see Camb. *Jnl.*

30. [1] For Nicholas Alexander, see Camb. *Jnl.*

31. [1] Annamessicks, four miles from Manokin, in Somerset Co. (*Md. Archives*, iii. 452.)

31. [2] For William Colebourne, see Camb. *Jnl.*

31. [3] Manokin, Somerset Co., Md.

32. [1] Wicomico River, on Eastern Shore, in Wicomico Co.

32. [2] An Ordinance for the erecting of several [12] Ports within the Province of Maryland, April 20th, 1669:—"in Somerset County afore Iames Iones his plantation shall be the Sole and only Seaports Havens Stations Creeks and places for the Loading and

unloading and depositing of all and all manner of Goods Wares and Merchandises out of or into all and all Manner of Ships Barks Boats or other Vessels whatsoever repairing into or going out of this Province of Maryland" (*Md. Archives*, v. 47). February 9, 1669, James Jones was appointed one of the "Gent Commissioners for the peace in the County of Somersett" (*Ibid.* v. 61).

See also Camb. *Jnl.*

32. [3] That is, *Horga* River.

33. [1] William Stephens, of Little Choptank, is frequently mentioned in *Maryland Archives*. In 1676, he presented a bill to the Assembly "for the Security and defense of this Province" (ii. 481). In the same year he was appointed one of a committee of six "to Regulate publick Accot^s" (ii. 496). Also in 1676, Stephens and others brought an impeachment against Major Thomas Truman for his dealings with the Susquehannah Indians (ii. 485).

33. [2] That is, John *Jay*.

33. [3] "The Council of each tribe was composed of the Sachem and the other Chiefs, either experienced warriors or aged and respected heads of families, elected by the tribe. The Council was legislature and court combined, having a strict and most decorous procedure" (Nelson, p. 93).

34. [1] St. Michael's River, Talbot Co., Md.

34. [2] For Thomas Thurston, see Camb. *Jnl.*

At a council held at the City of St. Marys the 5th day of May, Anno Dom. 1686. . . Produced and read the foll: Letter from Tho: Thurston to Mr. Clement Hill (viz.):—

April 12th 1686.

Loving Friend Clement Hill,

If thou please to remember when I saw thee last that wee had some discourse concerning our Court house that now is not standing convenient for the whole County [Baltimore Co.], but rather out of the way; it is the request and desire of the greatest part of the County that the Councill will be pleased to take it into Consideration, and grant us an order of Councill to appoint a place where it may be sett for the conveniency of the whole County which wee doe judge will be on the south side of the Runn called Winters Runn convenient for every man that have business there which would be greate satisfaction to the Inhabitants, and encouragement to Travellers and strangers, humbly desireing that the Councill be pleased to grant us our request.

First, That there is much land in breadth and length still to take up, which is a great hinderance to the Propry.

Secondly, There is many have taken land up and are doubtfull of seating it for fear of the heathen.

Thirdly, It would be a meanes to drive back the heathen further into the woods.

Fourthly, It will be neere the middle of the County.

Fifthly, The continuance of causes puts men to more charge then the debt because neat in the winter, people can not come for the frost, and here every man may come winter and summer.

Sixthly, It will be neere the path that goes from Potomack to the Susquehannah Rivers, and that will encourage Strangers, and enlarge our County.

This in the behalf of the people in Potapsco, Back River, Middle River, Gunpowder River, and the south side of Bush River doe request an order of Councill with what speed it may be and there in you will oblige the oppressed and promote Lord Propry right.

THOMAS THURSTON.

These for my loving Friend
Clement Hill liveing in Clements Bay
one of his Lops Councill with care.

(*Md. Archives*, v. 473.)

Meeting Records.

AT THE MEETING HOUSE, NEATH, S. WALES.

Pembrokeshire Monthly Meeting	1700-1842	3 vols.
Monmouthshire do.	1703-1836	9 vols.
Carmarthenshire do.	1724-1744	
Do. do.	1748-1750	1 vol.
Do. do.	1762, 1768	
Do. do.	1762-1764	
Carmarthen and Cardigan Monthly Meeting	1764-1768	1 vol.
Swansea Monthly Meeting	1748-1787	
Carmarthen and Glamorgan Monthly Meeting	1787-1793	1 vol.
Do. do.	1793-1831	3 vols.
South Division of Wales Monthly Meeting	1831 to date.	

We deplore the lack of a prophetic ministry in our meetings for worship, but we cannot get it from members without convictions. Whatever else a prophet is, he is, as John G. Wooley once said, "one who believes something, who believes it hard, who believes it all the time." —EDWARD G. RHOADS, at a Conference in Philadelphia, in Tenth Month, 1909.

Thirnbeck Manuscripts.

I.

Margaret Fell to Friends, 1654.

This epistle is printed in Margaret Fell's works, 1710, pp. 56-59, with certain omissions relating to local and temporary circumstances. The letter is referred to in Maria Webb's *Fells of Swarthmoor Hall*, 1865, p. 84, where some of the above-mentioned omitted passages are given. See also Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism*, p. 135.

It is an earnest appeal to Friends, based upon a common brotherhood in Christ, to contribute towards the expenses of "those yt haue bine sent forth into ye ministry, & for them yt haue suffered Imprisonmt & for bookes & seurall other things, yt haue bine needfull."

This letter is certainly not in the handwriting of M. Fell, if the facsimile given in *Fells* represents her hand. It occupies about three-quarters of a folio page, and is in a neat, clear hand. The endorsement reads, "to ffrinds Consarning a Colecshon from M. ff 1654." These words, with variation in spelling, are repeated elsewhere on the back of the sheet.

II.

John Lilburne[1] to Margaret Fell, 1657.

The writer is in trouble in consequence of that which he considers the unjust treatment meted out to him by

[1] John Lilburne (1614?-1657) was a son of Richard Lilburne, of Thickley, Co. Durham; he was born at Greenwich. "His life is a mirror in which the turbulent condition of the times may be seen. He championed the rights of the people in opposition to government, and was fined, whipped, pilloried, and imprisoned. He served some years as a soldier, and rose to the rank of Lieutenant-general" (*F.P.T.* 144n). From an imprisonment in the Channel Islands, Lilburne was transferred to Dover Castle, in October, 1655. Here, principally under the influence of Luke Howard, he embraced the tenets of Quakerism, and here he wrote several letters, one of which is subscribed, "From my innocent, and every-way causeless captivity in *Dover-castle* (the place of my souls delightful and contentful abode, where I have really and substantially found that which my soul many yeers hath sought diligently after, and with unsatisfied longingness, thirsted to enjoy, this present first day of the week, being the 4th of the 3d [? should be 10th] moneth, 1655." He died at Eltham, 29 vi. 1657, and was buried in London.

See his *Resurrection of John Lilburne, Now a Prisoner in Dover-Castle*,

Anthony Pearson, of Co. Durham, relative to some land in that county, and he is glad that the case is claiming the attention of Margaret Fell. He begs of her to promote an early settlement by persuading Pearson to meet him in London. Other Friends are taking up the matter on his behalf.

dearely beloued freind margret ffell,

The savour of that precious oyntment that the ffather in the cleare manifestation of his loue, bounty & goodwill to thy soule, hath richly & plentifully annoynted the withall, giues a sweet fragrent, & precious smell in the nostrills of all those that in the light haue truly giuen vp there names to the Lord of light & life; amongst whome numbring my selfe as one of the meanest & vnworthyest of them, but yit hath through rich mercy attained to acleare vnderstanding, to reed & feale thy stature & grouth, in my serious pvseall & transcribing ouer of those savory and sperituall lines of thine, that haue gone through my hands.

And thy clearely Judged by me preciousnes & clearenes of vnderstanding, hath in noe small measer filled me with desires at this present tyme to acquent the:

That when my very faithfull & dearely beloued freind Henry Clarke,[2] at the Sugerlofe neare horsepherie ally, one the bankesid in Southworke, acquented me that by our freind Thomas Rawlinson,[3] he had sent some papers downe to the, about the present deference betwixt Anthony pson[3] & my selfe, that J truly avver he hath wilfully & vnrightiously begot betwixt him selfe & me; J was not alittell glad at his soe doing, & when yisterday he acquented me that by our freind Steuen Hubberstie,[3] he vnderstood that thou thy selfe, hadst vpon the receipt of the forsaid [pap^{s}] sent for Anthony Pearson to thy howse to conferr with him about them, And as J vnderstand by Humphey No[rton's][3] information to

etc., 1656, and second and enlarged edition in same year; *F.P.T.*; Smith's *Catalogue of Friends' Books*; *D.N.B.*; Robson MSS. in D.; and much other literature.

[2] For Henry Clarke, see Camb. *Jnl.* We here learn his exact address, at the Sugar Loaf, near Horseferry Alley, Bankside, Southwark.

[3] For these Friends, see Camb. *Jnl.*

him, found Anthony at least to put glosses vpon his said dealling with me, & in shew to lay [*paper torn*] vpon me for indeavoring to disposes Haselridgs[4] tennants vpon my lands, that he hath without anyth [*paper torn*] pretence of law or Justice [?] me of. At the hearing of which & seriously meditating in the meas[er of light] injoyed by me, J was pressed in my sperit with strong desires by my owne hand writing to acquent the:

1. ffirst, that my forsaid deare & faithfull freind Henry Clarke haueing bene much conversent about 4 yeares agoe, at the sessions of old baly in London, when J was there tried for my life, & hearing from my owne mouth there, & alsoe reeding in print, much of my plea, or pleas for my life, came thereby to acleare vnderstanding of the reall danger of my very life, by that laite most wicked & sinfull convaance procured by Anthony psons wilfull, wicked, headstrong & plainely treacherous to me will, without my authoritie, priuity, or consent, to convay my lands that his master haselridge hath robd me of by meere force & violence, backe to my wife & children, as things that he hath areall true & vnquestionably legall right in: Therefor laitely as J vnderstand write to Anthony pson something a sharp reproofe, for his said [?] vnrightious dealling with me: which Anthony Answered with an avoued in words (say J now lying abominably wicked & false) Justification of himselfe, the reeding of wch seriously compelled me in an extraordinary manner to waite vpon my deuine councellor & leader, the measer of light dwelling in me, for a Just & cleare direction what to doe in the case; by wch J was in ye

2. Second place, clearely directed to draw vp against Anthony Pearson, a sollemne Appeale to the strong measur of god dwelling in G ffox, W Dusbery,[3] R Hubberthorne,[3] E Burrow,[3] H Clarke, J Bolton,[3] A Stoddart,[3] & G Roberts,[3] or any three of them, as it is contaned in the said Appeale: Which said Appeale after J had fairely ingrossed it (as it were) J in plainenes

[4] Sir Arthur Haselrig (d. 1661), second baronet, lived in Co. Durham, on confiscated lands which he purchased from the Government. At the Restoration he was tried and imprisoned. He died in the Tower. See *Extracts from State Papers*; Camb. *Jnl.*; *D.N.B.*

at Douer reed to my three deare & precious freinds John Stubbs,[3] Luke Howard,[3] & John Higgins[5] his servant, & soe haistened towards London with it: And neare there vnto in the

3. Third place, J plainely reed it to Henry Clarke twise ouer, against the rightiousnes, Justice and truth of which J found him not abell to maike one objection against it, after which he tooke it to carry to Edward Burrow, who with Amos Stoddart that day comming to me where then J was, J reed it to them alsoe, before whose deptur came in John Bolton, amongst which foure it was concluded, that John, Henry, & Amos should write to Anthony pson, to desire him to come spedily vp to London, that soe he & J might speeke face to face about it, w^ch^ J vnderstand they haue done.

4. ffourthly, vpon the 14: of this present month J write aletter to my old & now dearely beloued freinds and neighbours Roger Harper[6] & Marten Richmond,[3] & inclosed to them atranscript of my said appeale, for them seriously to pvse & then communicate to Anthony pson, that soe he might be throughly fitted to the vtmost that he can, befor he depart out of the county of Durham, to maike the best defence for himselfe that posably he can, befor our said freinds against my said complaining appeale against him.

5. ffiftly, vpon the last 7^th^ day our freind John Slee[3] of Cumberland, comming downe to my presen lodging at Wolladge (about 7 myles from London) there, the next day to declare truth, he & J had much talke of the busines betwixt Anthony & my selfe, & he was exceeding free to heare me at large about it; vnto whome J reed atranscript of my said Appeale, the staite of my case mentioned in it, & my 9 letters to Anthony pson,

[5] John Higgins (*c.* 1633-1667) is here as elsewhere connected with the county of Kent, but in what way he was "servant" to Luke Howard, of Dover, is not evident. He travelled much in Holland (Camb. *Jnl.*; C. Fell Smith, *Steven Crisp*). He signed the Fox-Fell marriage certificate at Bristol in 1660. For letters written by him see *Collectitia*; Smith, *Cata.*; *Steven Crisp*; MSS. in D. He died at Hertford, and was buried at Dover.

[6] Roger Harper lived, probably, in Co. Durham. He signed, with others, an epistle sent out from Scalehouse, 24 iv. 1658.

& 5 of his to me: which maid Anthonys wicked & vnrightious dealling with me appeare soe plaine to John Slee, that he sufficiently declared to me his detestation of it, & promised me that as he went shortly to his outward home (if the Lord will) to call at thy howse, & plainely acquent the with it; by whome as J remember J desired to send the atranscript of the said Appeale, but he Judged it needlesse the case to him being soe plaine: But now since J spooke as aforsaid with Henry Clarke, J haue bene much pressed in my sperit thus to write to the, & in it to inclose atranscript of my letter or complaint sent to London, the last yeare to 8: of our freinds against Anthony psons forsaid wicked dealling with me, & J haue earnestly intreated him at his comming to London to find out John Slee, & from me deliuer him this letter, to bring to thee as alsoe atranscript of my saide Appeale, & the said staite of my case, & transcripts of 7 of my first letters to Anthony pson, my 8 & 9th to him thou haueing alredy by the, as J Judge, all which as thy fredome and laysur serues the, J earnestly intreate & beseech the, seriously to pvse, & when thou haist soe done, that thou wilt in afew lins acquent Anthony spedily with the substance heareof, & prese him to haisten vp to London: where J doe expect my said freinds, to whome J haue appealed, will indeliberation, truth, & Justice, & without the least respect of psons, heare vs both face to face to the full, & to the very bottome of the busines, & as they are sharp reprouers of sin in men of the world, soe much more sharply to reproue it in one of vs two, in whome after afull & plaine hearing of vs face to face they really & truly about the premises find guilt & wickednes in. J can not at the prsent send the, the copys of his wicked, foolish, false, rediculous & contradicting letters to me, though J intend the Lord assisting now with all the speed J can, to copy them out & send them at least vnto some of those that in this case are now like to be his & my Judges.

Soe freely leueing the to thy owne fredome, as the rich measur of god dwelling in the, shall direct the, further to doe in the prmises what thou Judgeth to be Just & rightious, & of reall service to the truth, earnestly desiring a few lins from the, to be wrote by the as spedily as well thou canst to henry Clarke in Answere heare too,

with my dearest salutation in the fountaine of loue & life p^rsented vnto the J rest

Thy deare & faithfull freind according to the measur of grace receiued & revealed in, & vnto,

JOHN LILBURNE.

ffrom my p^rsent lodging at John Cocks at Wolladge (in Kent) neare London this 27 : of the 3^d month, 1657.

Postcript, I beseech the if my deare freind George ffox come neare the, p^rsent my dearest salutation to him, & reed this [?] to him, by which J truly let him knowe that Arther Haselridge about 5 or 6 yeares agoe, haueing by meere force & violence without the least shaddow of any Just pretence of law, robd me of my lands : Jn the yeare 1655 sent, or sued to me to treat with him to taike them againe, w^ch J refused to doe, vnlesse J might haue them restored to me as athing he had vnjustly robd me of, or with violence taiken from me, & sent my said answere (sufficiently as J Judge contaned in the said staite of my case) to Anthony p^son, to deliuer to him (to the vtmost of my memory) & to know of him (his laite master) if vpon those tearms he would giue them me againe in actuall and quiet posession, which are the only tearms, J expect them from him if euer he surrender them of himselfe to me, notwithstanding Anthony p^son hath actually & wilfully as J Judge as an instrument[7] treacherously betrayed to his vtmost my very life in to his mercilesse mercy, & my other bloody enimys, & alsoe set my wife,[8] my ffather [?] to his vtmost power togeather by the eares with me in such atormenting contest as J neuer with any of my adversaries went through in all my life tyme. J intreat the preserue my page from being lost.

JOHN LILBURNE.

This is an autograph letter. It occupies slightly over one page of a folio sheet, finely and clearly written. The sheet is weak in the folds, and a small portion of the fore-edge is worn away. It is addressed by the writer,

[7] Pearson's defence would probably be that he acted as Haselrig's agent in this matter.

[8] Lilburne married Elizabeth Dewell and had several young children (*D.N.B.*). His family lodged near him while he was in Dover Castle.

"ffor my dearely beloued freind Margret ffell, in Lankishere this with care and speed dd," and more fully directed in another hand (with folds to suit this latter address), "This into the handes of his derely beloued frend Margeret the wife of Judge: ffell at his howse at Swart more nere ouston [Ulverston] dd with speed and faile not—Lanckeshire." George Fox endorsed the letter, "j liborn to mff douer presen 1656 read over."

III.

John Rous to Margaret Fell, 1664.

A spirit of filial affection and reverence is evident throughout these letters, and also an earnest desire on the part of John Rous to be helpful to his mother-in-law, whose faithfulness to conviction he warmly applauds and whose example he desires her children may follow.

The circumstances of the imprisonment of George Fox and Margaret Fell in Lancaster Castle, and the sentence of premunire passed upon the latter by Judge Turner at the close of Sixth Month (Aug.), 1664, are detailed in the Camb. *Jnl.* M. Fell was doubtless in Lancaster Castle at the receipt of this letter.—The Conventicle Act came into force on the 1st of Fifth Month (July), 1664, a month prior to the date of this letter. "For a third offence against this Act elaborate provisions for transportation were devised" (*F.P.T.* 357; Camb. *Jnl.*)—The details of the Hertford case may be read in Besse's *Sufferings* (i. 249), and Webb's *Fells* (p. 228).

The second letter illustrates in a most enlightening manner some of the difficulties into which the persecuting legislation of the day brought Friends. On the one hand is evident their desire to stand firm to their convictions and to take the consequences, even to transportation, and on the other hand there were many considerations to be weighed—personal and family ties, and various responsibilities towards others. There was need of much wisdom to direct, and of advice from trusted friends and counsellors.

Mile End,[9] ye 6th of ye $\frac{6th}{m}$ 64.

Dear Mother

Jn the vnalterable & vnchangable truth, wch is more precious then all changable things is my dear & entire love to thee, to whom my love is beyond what here J can expresse, who art honourable in the truth, & to be honoured by all yt live in the truth, who hast not accounted any thing to dear to thee to be parted with for the Lord & for his truths sake, but hath stood to the hazard & lose of all rather then in the least to submit or come vnder any thing yt is contrary to the Lord or his blessed truth manifested in thy heart, Oh how happy are we thy children who have such a mother, who with such boldnes in the power & spirit of the Lord stands vp agst the powers of Darknes, & spirituall wickednes in high places, my desires are yt as through thy faithfulnes in the losse of all, thou hast obtained an everlasting honour & renowne soe we thy children in our severall places may be found faithfull in all triales yt we meet with for the truths sake, may adde comfort to thy afflictions & may be noe cause of greife or sorrow, for wch cause we desire the helpe of thy prayers wch we know are heard & accepted by him who is mighty to save all those yt trust in him ;

Dear Mother by a letter from my sister Sarah wch yesterday we recd, we vnderstand what hard & vniust dealings thou hast mett with in thy triall at the assizes, but wt can be expected from those who have not ye fear of God before their eyes, nor have any regard to Just or Righteous Judgment, but set vp iniquity & make a prey of them yt depart from it, but these afflictions are to be gone through & the measure wch is be hinde is to be filled vp for the bodies sake wch is the church, whose portion it now is in many places to suffer, but though the enimie come like a flood, yet the spirit of the Lord lifts a standard & we know yt that though the sea doe roar & the billows thereof are lifted vp even as if it would overthrow all before it, yet its appointed bounds it shall not passe, but the Lord by his power will restraine it :

[9] Several letters written about this time by members of the Rous family or visitors are addressed from "Mile End," or "Mile End Green." See Webb, *Fells*, 1865, pp. 214, 222. This was presumably the home of John Rous before taking up his residence at Kingston-on-Thames.

As concerning passages much J might write more then time will now permit, but J shall give thee as breife & plaine an acct as J can, last fifth day 7 freinds were brought from Hertford to London to be transported according to ye sentence passed on them by Judge Bridgeman,[10] the Jailour some daies before came vp to London, & met with a master of a ship who was bound to Barbados & Jemaica, wth whom the Jalour agreed covertly (not letting the Mr know vpon wt acct they went) to carry 4 of them to Barbados & 3 to Jemaica, & was to put them aboard last fifth day, but wn the Mr heard vpon what acct they went, he was very sorry, & said he would not carry them if he could any way avoide it, & the cheife owner said yt he would set the ship on fire before it should carry them, the Jalour next day after he came to towne put them into A boat & carried them to the ships side, but the Mr had ordered the seamen yt if such came, except they were willing to goe, they should not take them aboard, & told ye Jalour yt his agrement was to have them sent aboard ye day before, wch he not doing, he had other wise disposed of his ship, & now would not carry them if he might have 100 pounds a man, soe the Jalour was forced to carry them backe, & that day went to Judge Bridgman to tell him what ye mr said, who advised him to arest ye Mr for his bargaine, but on last 7th day ye King & his Counsell sat about it & Judge Bridgman was with them, to consider what to doe with ye Mr, & in the afternoon two messengers were sent for the Mr to whitehall where he was brought before one of ye Kings secretaries, who committed him close prisoner to the Gatehouse not to be bailed, for refusing to carry them, J hear ye Mr of the ship was very bold & answered very vndantedly, there is none of the ship masters yt are going to Barbados, yt I hear of, but are resolved they will not carry freinds except they are willing to goe; the sessions was last weeke at the Old Baily, but nothing was done with freinds, though J hear there was 17 in prison vpon ye 3 acct, but they adiourned till tomorrow, wch its thought was done of out of pollicy, for there was many freinds wch had been in twice, & they thought to have a great

[10] Sir Orlando Bridgeman (1606?-1674) presided at the trial of the Regicides, 1660; Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, 1667-72. (*D.N.B.*)

many in this weeke vpon the third acct, soe last first day in the morning they tooke from the bull & mouth as J hear 199 men & women freinds wch they committed to Newgate & bridewell, in the afternoon they tooke from Mile End 12 men, amongst whom was Gerrard[11] on his first acct & 6 women among whom was Anne Gould[12] on her second acct from ye peele meeting they tooke about three score as J heard & from wheelers street meeting a great many, soe that there is now a great many freinds both men & women in vpon the third acct, but what they will doe with them is not yet knowne, but their actions doe manifest as if they intended to prosecute their law to the highest if the Lord doe not restraine them, we were yesterday to see freinds in Newgate, who are mightily thronged but were generally well, except one lad who was in a very high feaver & much vnsencible, that it is thought there is much danger of his life, J was last first day to see George Whitehead (not having seen him in a pretty while) & he was well & his dear love is remembred to thee & G ff: J had a letter lately from T Salthouse from Plimouth who was well & at liberty, & writ yt things were very quiet & well in those parts, only ye Mayor of a towne called Smithick neer falmouth in Cornewall, wished he might rot & perish if he did not make freinds conforme to this new act, wch he intended to doe on a first day, but on the 7th day before at night going to bed well was found dead in the morning, which strick some dread vpon the Justices & caused their Moderation towards freinds; J hear there is 3 or 4 freinds dead at Bristoll, one being a woman with child of her first child, & another a maide who being very sick was carried out of the prison, but being dead freinds carried her to the prison intending to carry her from them to ye ground,

[11] For Gerard Roberts, see Camb. *Jnl.*

[12] Anne Gould (Gold), of London, was among the early Ministers in the Metropolis, *c.* 1655 (*Crouch*, p. 16; *Latey*, p. 10). She travelled in Ireland, where Julian Wastwood and she went "on foot in Winter time, wading Rivers and Dirty Miry Ways; so that Ann Gould, being a tender Woman, was much spent, and staid at Clough; the enemy perswading her that God had forsaken her and that she was there to be destroyed, so that she fell into Despair" (Edmondson, *Journal*, 1715, p. 18). She was also in East Anglia (*F.P.T.* 97). The London Registers record the death of an Ann Gould, of Pauls, Shadwell, 16 x. 1699, at about ninety years of age. See Besse, *Suff.*, i. 482, 484.

& in the prison she bled two hours, one hour out of one nostrell & another hour out of the other, this was mentioned in a letter from Dennis Hollister to A : Parker wch a freind yt read it told me of but J did not read the letter my selfe.

the love of divers freind is remembred to G ff and thee, we are all well & our very dear love is remembred to thee & to dear G ff & our dear sisters Sarah, Susanna & Rachell, J doe not question but thou wilt let G ff know how things are, whom J honour in my heart, & Dear Mother if in any thing we may be servicable to thee, in speaking to any body, or if at any time thou may have occasion for mony J desire thou would not spare to command any thing yt we are able to doe, for J looke vpon it as mine & our duty to be as much assistant to thee in this time of thy suffering as may be, & in soe doing to bear part of thy burden with thee.

J have something in my minde concerning which J desire thy advice, wch J intend to write on ye other side, which J desire if thou cannot read, thou would reserve it till Sarah be with thee or some one whom thou art willing shall read it to thee, & J desire to know whether thou can read it thy selfe[13]; And soe in dear & fervent love J rest

Thy Obedient & truly loving son,
John Rous.

I was with sister ffell last night but hear nothing of my brother ffell.

Dear Mother

They proceeding here very high in prosecuting the new act, wch ends in banishment, wch its like if the Lord doe not restraine them they will bring freinds to, which J doe not know how soon may be my portion from them, having been once in present already, my desire is to know thy minde, whether in case J should be sentenced & come to be transported thou would be willing, my wife (being as she is) should goe along with me, J am not vnsencible,

[13] We have for some time held the opinion, and expressed it, that Margaret Fell suffered from deficient eyesight (Camb. *Jnl.*, i. 408). Above seems to confirm our opinion, but we must wait till M. Fell's reply comes to light before the matter can be definitely settled.

of the sicknes & illnes she hath allready gone through at sea,[14] wch hath been very hard to her to goe through, yet J beleive the first time she was with child, if it had pleased ye Lord she had missed the fall of ye horse, she might have done very well, & in all probality might have gone out her time, & now dear Mother considering how hard it wilbe to vs to part, & for me to goe to sea & leave her to follow with a young child, if it please God it live,[15] & to want me who was soe great a helpe to her when she was sick, wilbe a thing that wilbe very hard to her, & if she goes to meetings in the meane time she wilbe in dangr of being banished soe well as J, wch considerations with others & som[e] in conveniencies wch may attend her not going with me, put me to a stand, yt J doe not know what to thinke, whether it may be bett[er] for her if I should be sent away to run the hazard of the seas & goe with me, or to settle not to goe with me, but stay behinde, & run all the hazards & inconveniencies wch may attend her soe doing; Dear Mother J am given vp freely in my selfe to bear my testimony amongst other freinds agst this vniust law, & before J am imprisoned on the third acct J would settle all as one yt is ready to be transported that if J doe goe J may goe with clearnes, or if J stay it may be wth the same, & soe desire that thou would seriously consider this, & let me know what thou thinkes may be best for me to doe, that soe J may know how to order things; My wife hath been asking me whether J could not shun going to meetings where freinds are taken, till such time as she might be vp & in a condition to goe with me, wch J doe not know at present J could with freedome doe, & that would bring me vnder ye Judgment of freinds wch J would willingly avoide; this is the substance of what J have at present to write in relation to thys matter, thy answer to which J desire as soon as opportunity will permit; J am care full to avoide

[14] As mentioned in Camb. *Jnl.* (ii. 421), there is a statement in Fox's *Spirit of Envy* (1663, p. 10),—"As for M.F. . . . there was her Son in law and her daughter passing to beyond Seas"—which might refer to John and Margaret Rous; this mention of M. Rous's "sicknes & illnes at sea" tends to confirm this inference.

[15] A daughter, Lydia, was born 5 i. 1664/5, and died the following year.

being imprisoned againe as yet, my father having sent for divers things for his plantation wch he cannot be without, wch J intend to ship by a ship yt may goe away the latter end of this Month, & till those things are sent away, J am not willing to goe to prison, because the want of ym wilbe a great preiudice to him, & he depends vpon my sending them, ffarewell,

Thy dear son,

JOHN ROUS.

[Direction] ffor Margt ffell
this

The letters are in the handwriting of John Rous. The first occupies two full folio pages, and the second, one full page. The sheet is endorsed "ffor Margt ffell this." On the outer margin of page 2 there are a few strokes made by George Fox, but that which they were intended to indicate is not apparent.

To be continued.

Obituary.

William Gregory Norris, J.P., of Coalbrookdale and Weston-super-Mare, died on the eighth of Twelfth Month, aged eighty-two years. W. G. Norris took a deep interest in historical subjects and was a member of the F.H.S. from the commencement. He bore the entire cost of issuing Journal Supplement No. 6, "John ap John, and Early Records of Friends in Wales," 1907.

Friends, what is right is always safe; but our human minds are so constituted that if we let them dwell first on the dangers of an undertaking, they are less able to judge whether it is right or not.—ANNA RHOADS LADD, at a Conference in Philadelphia, Tenth Month, 1909.

In the *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archæological Society* for 1908, there is an illustrated article on "Admiral Penn, William Penn, and their Descendants in the Co. Cork."

The Cambridge Edition of "The Journal of George Fox."

As many of our readers will find it necessary to consult this work in their Quaker studies, it is proposed to insert in these columns, from time to time, notes, in the form of addenda or corrigenda, which have reached the Editor.

1.—A slip has been printed for insertion containing brief explanations of the three following signs, [ ], { }, ( ), used in the text of *The Journal*. Present owners of the volumes should apply for these slips to the University Press, Cambridge, Eng., Headley Brothers, London, or the John C. Winston Co., Philadelphia, Pa.

2.—Vol. I., p. 265, l. 15, cross out the [1], as there is not any note at the end of the volume corresponding with this figure.

3.—Elizabeth Trelawney. In response to the request for "further information bearing on the persons referred to in *The Journal*," Lord Courtney of Penwith has favoured the Editor with a printed copy of a letter by Elizabeth Trelawney, which is addressed, "To my honoble Deare Grandmother the Lady Mohun att Hall." The letter commences :—

"My Honoble Lady

"and Dearest Grandmother; allmighty God fill yr Lapp wth true comfort and consolation and revive yu according to ye time yt hee hath afflicted yu, and for ye yeares in wch you haue suffered adversity," and closes :—

"Ah madam, I dare not put my suffrings in ye ballance wth your Lapps, yett may truely say, yt full of sorrow haue binne ye dayes of my pilgrimage. . . I have left Trelawne for a while to try what change may doe for ye recov'ry of my health & I praise god I find it very advantagable. I begge yr Lapps parden for my tediousnes & this coarse paper and βsent yr Lapp my humble duty beseeching yr Lapp to vouchsafe yr Blessing unto

"yr Lapps most dutyfull

"Elizabeth Trelawny."

When sending a copy of this letter for the "Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall,"[1] Lord Courtney, then the Right Hon. Leonard H. Courtney, M.P., wrote, "Searching at the British Museum many years ago for another purpose, I lighted upon a collection of papers (Add. MSS. 11,314, *fol.* 15), containing letters, etc., of the Mohun family of Boconnoc. . . . It will be seen that the letter is without a date, but from its position in the MSS. it may be inferred that it was written before 1645. It was certainly addressed to her step-grandmother, the third wife of

[1] No. xliv., published in 1898; see vol. xiii., pp. 272, 273.

Sir Reginald Mohun, and as it was addressed to her at Hall, we may perhaps safely infer that it was written after she had become a widow in 1639."

The incident regarding Elizabeth Trelawney given by George Fox (see Camb. *Jnl.*, i. 204) forms the subject of an etching by Robert Spence, the owner of the original MS. of *The Journal*.

4.—Vol. II., p. 506, col. 2, l. 30, read "*i.* 45, 405."

5.—Vol. II., p. 426, l. 19 from foot, read *Jnl. F.H.S. ix.*

6.—Vol. I., p. 452, l. 16, for Conget read Conget (Cowgate).

7.—Vol. I., p. 445.—Wray of Lincolnshire. There was a Joane Wray, of Fulbeck, Lincs., widow, at whose house John Whitehead attended a Meeting "to consider wisely of the poor, fatherless, and widows, and to supply their wants," for doing which and "not pretending nor intending public worship," those present were fined £72 13s. 2d.! (Chalk, *Life of Whitehead*, p. 263; Besse, *Suff.* i. 356)—THOMAS DAVIDSON, Fritchley, Derby.

8.—Vol. I., p. 424.—Isabel Hacker, the regicide's widow, was the daughter of Isabel Dand, a Mansfield woman, who married Gabriel Brunts. Isabel Hacker's nephew, Samuel Brunts, was a great benefactor to Mansfield. Samuel Brunts was not a Friend; he died in 1711, and last year the Trustees of his bequests placed a memorial window to his memory in East Bridgeford Church, Notts, where he was buried. —EMILY MANNERS, Mansfield.

9.—Vol. II., p. 373.—W. C. Braithwaite (*Beginnings of Quakerism*, p. 148) states that William Sympson (or Simpson) "according to a vagrancy pass, came from Sunbree, in the county of Lancaster, probably Sunbreak, near Swarthmore," and he refers to Camb. *Jnl.*, ii. 67, for mention of a "William Simson, of Sunbrecke." He considers it probable that the sign referred to in Fox's address to the followers of Lampitt, of Ulverston, 1652 (Camb. *Jnl.*, i. 89), was the action of Sympson, whose home was in the same district.

10.—Vol. I., p. 415.—Priest Tatham. In *The Ejected of 1662 in Cumberland and Westmorland*, by Benjamin Nightingale, M.A., of Preston, published a few weeks ago, there are several references to Richard Tatham, who was probably the "Priest Tatham" of *The Journal*. In 1654 the Cromwellian Commissioners "settled" him as preacher at Heversham, and in 1657 he received the living of Kirkby Lonsdale, both in Westmorland.

It is stated by the Cambridge University Press that *The Journal* has had a larger initial sale than was expected by the Publishers.

"The Oldest Yearly Meeting in the World."

Speaking at the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the beginning of New England Yearly Meeting, celebrated at Moses Brown School, Providence, R.I., 24 vi. 1911, Augustine Jones states: "It is notable as the only yearly meeting on the [American] continent, with the exception of Baltimore, which George Fox attended, and the oldest in the world." A note to the printed report of the proceedings (a most informing pamphlet of over eighty pages) contains the words, "Since these remarks were made a note from England has been shown to me, mentioning a general meeting in London in 1661, the date of our origin, which is meant to suggest, I suppose, the beginning of their meeting to be of even date with ours." After reference to the title page of the London *Book of Discipline*, 1883, and earlier editions, the author adds, "It would seem that finally, in 1672, the yearly meeting, by a special resolve or minute, established the annual meetings to be at London, hence its name, constitution, and historic existence ever after," and closes with the words, "The matter is now not important, except in the verification of history."

The subject may well be discussed in the verification of history.

The statement which appears on the title page of the *Book of Discipline*, 1883, regarding London Yearly Meeting "from its first institution in 1672," is incorrect, and it has disappeared from the later edition of 1906. In the last named edition, vol. ii., p. 1, the minute made in 1672, "It is concluded . . that . . there be a General Meeting of Friends held at London once a year," is modified by a statement of George Fox, "From thence [Skipton, 1660] the Yearly Meeting was removed to London the next year, where it hath been kept ever since, as being looked upon a more convenient place." This would imply the holding of a Y.M. in 1661, but, as yet, no record of this has been discovered.

But we cannot accept the statement somewhat doubtfully admitted by the writer in the Anniversary proceedings that the beginning of the Y.M. of English Friends (the *place* of the Meeting is unimportant in this connection) was "of even date with ours," for it is quite certain that General Yearly Meetings were held in England in 1660, at Skipton, "of men Friends out of many counties," and earlier, in 1658, at John Crook's in Bedfordshire, "a General Yearly Meeting for the whole nation" (see *The Journal of George Fox*, bi-cent. ed., i. 418, 469, and Camb. ed., i. 266, 355 and esp. 462). It is probable, as stated by R. M. Jones in his paper (see page 12 of pamphlet) that the General Meeting held in New England in 1661 "was in all respects like the general meetings which had already been held in England"; and (page 13) "that this first general meeting in the new world followed the old world model." It is *not* probable that George Rofe, an English Friend, would have "appointed a general meeting for all Friends in those parts," if such gatherings had not previously been held in his own country.

Friends in Current Literature.

The Quakers in the American Colonies (London: Macmillan, 8¾ by 5¾, pp. 603, 12s.). In the third volume of the Rowntree series—which is, however, the second in order of issue, Dr. Rufus M. Jones, assisted by Dr. Isaac Sharpless and Amelia Mott Gummere, has produced a valuable addition to Quaker historical literature. His subject is divided into five sections, dealing respectively with New England, New York, the Southern Colonies, New Jersey and Pennsylvania. With the persecutions undergone by Friends in New England, culminating in the execution at Boston of William Robinson, Marmaduke Stevenson, William Leddra, and Mary Dyer, readers of the THE JOURNAL will be familiar. Penn's "Holy Experiment" again is more or less known to all. The extent to which Friends participated in the government of the five geographical areas mentioned above, with the exception of Pennsylvania—and even there it is associated chiefly with William Penn—is not a matter of such common knowledge. The impression left on the mind of the reader after perusal of the book is that "The Quakers as makers of America" is no mere phrase, but the embodiment of a great historical truth. Especially interesting is the story of Quaker government in Rhode Island, under the Eastons, Coddington, Clarke, Bull, the Wantons, Hopkins, and others, perpetually confronted as they were with the difficulty of steering a clear course between adhesion to their peace principles on the one hand, and their responsibility for the safety of the colony on the other. Here, as elsewhere, the discharge of civil duties did not prevent participation in the work of the religious body to which they were so loyally attached. Accustomed to the thought of "plainness of apparel" and "Quaker grey," one can scarcely imagine a Minister of the Society such as John Wanton, "a powerful and eloquent preacher" devoting "much of his time to religious service," appearing in "a bright scarlet cloak lined with blue." We read again of John Kinsey as Speaker of the Pennsylvanian Assembly, being at the same time Clerk of the Yearly Meeting. He became subsequently the Chief Justice of the Province, "and held the three offices combining leadership in Church and State." John Archdale, a Proprietor and sometime Governor of the Carolinas, whose memory of late years has been rescued from obscurity, is not left out in the narrative, a man who "possessed, in an extraordinary measure, the genius for putting his finger on cardinal issues, and for penetrating through the husks of controversy to the inner core of righteousness."

Apart from politics and statecraft of the best type, such allied subjects as treatment of Indians and negroes are fully dealt with, and there is a valuable chapter on "The Keith Controversy." We heartily commend the book to our readers.

ISAAC SHARP.

That Friends in Australasia are prominent in opposition to the warlike measures of the Commonwealth and New Zealand is evident even from current comic papers. The coloured cartoon of the issue for October 21st, of *The Comic Australian* (147, King Street, Sydney) represents

the bombardment with paper and ink of a certain writer by a posse of men dressed in Quaker costume, and is entitled, "Billy and the Quakers. A recent 'Case for Labor' article by Hon. W. M. Hughes, defending the National Defence Scheme, aroused the spirit of retaliation in the Peace Party. Billy: 'Help! Help! Save me from the Friends.'"

In *The English Illustrated Magazine* for November there is an article on the Burial Ground at Sennen, Land's End, Cornwall, and a copy of the inscription over the tomb of Philippa, wife of John Ellis, d. 1677. See Camb. *Jnl.* i. 447.

The Pennsylvania Society of New York (249 West Thirteenth Street) has, through its energetic secretary, Hon. Barr Ferree, published a full *Report on William Penn Memorial in London* (9¼ by 6¼, pp. 110, with twenty-seven illustrations). The memorial tablet in the church of All-hallows Barking by the Tower, London, was unveiled on the 13th of last July. Sections in this book deal with the Exhibition and Tea at Devonshire House, which formed parts of the day's proceedings.

Marshall N. Fox has sent home a printed report of *A Conference of the Educational Workers of Syria and Palestine*, held at Beyrout, May 3-5 (Beirut: Printed at the American Press, where copies may be obtained at one franc each, post free, pp. 54). Thirteen Societies having agents in these countries were represented. Foreign Protestant Societies operating in Syria number thirty-five. Henry T. Hodgkin and Marshall N. Fox contributed papers.

George T. J. Miles and William Richardson have been working for some time on *A History of Withernsea, with Notices of other Parishes in South Holderness in the East Riding of the County of York* (Hull: Brown, 8½ by 5½, pp. 286, 5s. net). Appendix VI. deals with "Quakers in Holderness," and gives valuable extracts from "Records of things done in Holderness Monthlie Meeting since the year 1669." There is a view of the Renish Farmhouse in which the first Monthly Meeting was held. On page 171 there are records of the baptism of several adult members of the Quaker family of Storr, of Hilston.

Unemployment: A Social Study, by B. Seebohm Rowntree and Bruno Lasker, has recently been published by Macmillan & Co. (9 by 6, pp. 317, 5s.). The book "gives an account of a detailed investigation of unemployment in York, together with suggestions for remedying the evils which it disclosed."

Robert Bird, of Glasgow, has presented to the Reference Library a copy of his recent work, *John, the Companion of Jesus* (London: Nelson, 8¾ by 6¾, pp. 376, 5s.). "The story is told in realistic pictures, giving form and colour as with a brush; and to deepen the historic impression I have glanced at the world and the men of his time," writes the author in his Preface. There are ten full-page coloured illustrations and many woodcuts in the text. The short sections into which the book

is divided will facilitate its being read aloud to the children, or being read by them.

In connection with the centenary of the birth of John Bright (he was born on the 16th November, 1811), Headley Brothers have published a pamphlet of sixty pages, prepared by Cecil Wedmore, entitled, *Sayings of John Bright* (8¼ by 5, 6d.).

Another book from the pen of Rufus M. Jones is to hand, *Stories of Hebrew Heroes* (London: Headley, 7½ by 5¼, pp. 160, 2s. 6d. net) Children will be delighted with these unconventional recitals of deeds of old. The Author writes, "I have always believed that the cultivation of imagination by means of stories which *suggested* noble traits of life, and which exhibited heroic persons facing the issues of life, has a large influence . . . and that the cultivation of the imagination through the right type of story-material is one of the most important stages in moral education." Among the chapter headings are:—The Story of a Garden, The Story of a Great Boat, How a Boy Cheated his Brother, How a Boy Killed a Giant, How a Beautiful Girl Became a Queen and Saved her People. There are six coloured illustrations.

Mayfair for December 7th contains a cartoon of the Right Hon. Lord Emmott, P.C., the new Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies. Alfred Emmott was the son of Thomas Emmott, of Oldham; he was born a Friend and was educated at Friends' schools at Kendal and Tottenham. He was Mayor of Oldham in 1891, and has sat in Parliament for his native town from 1899 till his recent elevation to the peerage. For five years Alfred Emmott was Deputy Speaker of the House of Commons. The accompanying account ends thus: "Lord Emmott is another eminent example of the phenomenal success that has attended so many members of that numerically insignificant sect," but Lord Emmott is no longer an actual member of the Society.

A German edition of Georgina K. Lewis's *Elizabeth Fry* has been prepared and published by F. Siegmund-Schultze, of the Friedenskirche in Potsdam. Copies may be obtained from Headley Brothers, Bishopsgate, London, at 3s. 6d. net.

The sermon, preached by Percy Dearmer, D.D., Vicar of St. Mary the Virgin, Primrose Hill, London, some months ago, entitled "Do we need a Quaker Movement?" has been reprinted with other addresses in *Sermons on Social Subjects* (London: Robert Scott, 7½ by 5, pp. 90, 2s. net). Dr. Dearmer writes:

"There is no time here even to summarise its history . . . let it suffice to notice that, decline or no decline, the Friends continued to be the salt of the earth during the eighteenth century, and are still to-day at the heart of all that is best, most strenuous, most serviceable, most Christian in the life of the nation."

A Quaker Movement within the Establishment would lead to the non-use of oaths, insistence on peace, freedom in interpretation of

Scripture, business on Christian methods, and, above all, to the belief in the indwelling Spirit of God in every man.

King John's Farm (or simply King's Farm), Chorley Wood, Herts, in the great parlour of which William Penn and Gulielma Maria Springett were married in 1672, has recently been purchased, repaired and enlarged by the Hon. Arthur Capell. A description of this house, with several views, including one of the room in which Penn was married, appears in *Country Life* for October.

Urie House, Stonehaven, N.B., the seat of Sir Alexander Baird, Bart., occupies the site of the old mansion of the same name so historically interesting in connection with the Quaker family of Barclay. Urie, or Ury, was purchased by Col. David Barclay in 1648, and was rebuilt by him. At his death in 1686 the property came into the possession of his son, Robert Barclay, the Apologist. On the death of the last Barclay of Urie, Capt. Robert Barclay-Allardice, in 1854, the estate passed into the Baird family. The burial place of the Barclays still stands and has been added to as a place of sepulture for the Baird family. Views of the present mansion may be seen in *The Scottish Field*, for October.

In Henry W. Clark's *History of English Nonconformity from Wiclif to the Close of the Nineteenth Century*, vol. i., there is a good, discriminating account of the rise of Quakerism (London: Chapman & Hall, 9 by 5¾, pp. 439, 15s. net).

Malcolm and Leila Sparkes (Long Gable, Gerrards Cross, Bucks) have brought out a useful little book for sale at Jordans Meeting House, entitled *Penn and Jordans*. There are twelve illustrations. Price 3d.

The *Glasgow News*, of December 12th, contains the following:—

"On Saturday afternoon last a small company might have been seen assembling near the foot of that usually almost deserted thoroughfare—Kelvin Street, Partick. It transpired they were representatives of that small and little-known body of Christians known as 'Quakers,' who prefer to be known as 'The Religious Society of Friends.' It was not, however, their intention to try to proclaim their tenets to the denizens of Partick, but only to affix an iron tablet to the gate of a little plot of ground on the west side of the street. On this tablet is inscribed the words —'Society of Friends' Burial Ground. Gifted by John Purdon, 1711. Last used 11. xii. 1857.' By this it will be seen that it is exactly 200 years since this small plot of land was acquired by the Society as a burying-place for their dead, and that they so used it for the space of 146 years, doing so for the last time exactly fifty-four years ago on Monday, the 11th inst. Originally the piece of land was somewhat larger, but, a few years ago, the Partick Commissioners, wishing to widen Kelvin Street, approached the Society of Friends, and an arrangement was come to whereby the Commissioners took over the care of the ground, simply recognising the overlordship of the Society by a small annual quit rent. The high wall next the street was then taken down and the ground reverently cleared. A low retaining wall, with iron railing and gate, was then erected, and a flight of four steps led up to the now raised

surface. A footpath was made the entire length of the interior, and the remainder planted with trees, shrubs, etc., making a little oasis in that otherwise dreary neighbourhood."

Prebendary Hancock, M.A., F.S.A., Vicar of Dunster, has presented to D. a copy of his recent work, *Wiveld's Combe, A History of the Parish of Wiveliscombe* (Taunton: Wessex Press, 9 by 5¾, pp. 296). On page 44 we read, "That interesting denomination, the Quakers, whose sincerity and devotion all impartial persons cannot but admire, were in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries very numerous at Wiveliscombe." Among items of Personal History appears an account of Dr. Thomas Pole (1753-1829), taken from a Supplement to THE JOURNAL; there are also three illustrations reproduced from the same publication.

It is interesting to note the statement in a review of the life of Dr. Alexander McLaren, which appeared in *The Manchester Guardian* of November 27th, that "of his devotional reading he seldom or never spoke, but the books he always took with him when he went from home included Augustine's 'Confessions' and Fox's 'Journal.'"

Sir George Newman's *Annual Report for 1910 of the Chief Medical Officer of the Board of Education*, dated September, 1911, is a valuable document of 258 pages, followed by fifty pages of Appendices (London: Wyman, 1s. 3d.). It deals with such live subjects as Medical Inspection and Treatment, Dental Disease, Education of Feeble-minded, Open-air Education, Teaching of Hygiene. Another Friend is also one of the Medical Officers of the Board of Education, Ralph H. Crowley, M.D.

Blackwood's Magazine for October contains an article on "The England of George Fox's Journal," by Lydia Miller Mackay. Of Fox, the writer remarks:—

"He said some uncommonly nasty things about the ecclesiastical ancestors of most of us—such exceedingly unpleasant things, in fact, that we cannot be altogether surprised that in the hot times of the Commonwealth and Restoration he had a way of ending his arguments amid a shower of stones or at the open door of a jail. A perfectly calm and quite immovable man, standing up and telling his heated opponents in the plainest and most unmistakable terms exactly what he thought of them, must quite conceivably have been difficult to put up with. . . He never lost his temper—he left that to his opponents; and he had the most exasperating way of getting the best of an argument. . . . He has inimitably racy powers of description, so that his Journal makes delightfully picturesque reading.[1] . . . It is like a little rusty gate which opens right into the heart of the seventeenth century, so that when we go in by it, hey presto! we find ourselves pilgrims with the old Quaker in the strangest kind of England."

The thirtieth Annual Report of the Ackworth Old Scholars' Association (Sec.: Malcolm Sparkes, Long Gable, Gerrards Cross, Bucks., 8½ by 5½, pp. 149), has appeared. It is full of interest for those for whom

[1] How much more evident is this when the new Cambridge edition is taken into account

it is specially intended, and will also prove good reading to others. Records of the past and information for the present are intermingled. There are portraits of Thomas Pumphrey (d. 1911), John Broadhead (d. 1911), Frank A. Bunting (d. 1910), Mary Dearman Burtt (d. 1911), Henrietta King (d. 1910), Herbert Linney (d. 1911), and E. Booth Woodhead (d. 1911), and of other Friends still among the living. The membership of the Association is 2,505; a list of the names is given.

Headley Brothers have printed for Francis R. Pryor, of Hatfield, Herts, a beautiful quarto volume entitled *Memoirs of Samuel Hoare, by His Daughter Sarah and His Widow Hannah; also Some Letters from London during the Gordon Riots* (11½ by 9¼, pp. xiii. + 68, £1 1s.). Samuel Hoare (1751-1825) was a banker of Lombard Street, and lived in Paradise Row, Stoke Newington, and later at Hampstead. In Sarah Hoare's delightful account of her father occurs the following (page 10):—

"My father also had a curious adventure with thieves, which strongly marks his habitual attention to truth. He was on the road between London and [Stoke] Newington in a stage-coach one night, and having some suspicion that it might be attacked by highwaymen, concealed his watch. The coach was stopped, and a pistol presented. The passengers gave up what they had about them, and he gave his money, and being asked for his watch, felt for it in his fob, and said, 'I have none.' But, before the men went away, recollected where the watch was hidden, but not his motive for concealing it; and said, without reflection, 'Yes, I have a watch!' and gave it up to the thief, advising him at the same time not to expose himself to detection by taking it. He hesitated for a moment, and then went off with it.

"This story was made in conversation ridiculous enough, and attributed to scruple in having told a lie to a highwayman. No desire of preserving the watch would have prompted him to say what was false, but folly only would, on such an occasion, have recanted what was thus spoken inadvertently. I know not whether he was most distinguished by love of truth, or freedom from scruple." [2]

Mr. Pryor's volume is illustrated with some beautiful plates of persons mentioned in the Memoirs. His Explanatory Pedigree introduces the well-known Quaker names of Gurnell, Bland, Gurney, Birkbeck, Allen, Kett, etc. See "Friends' Quarterly Examiner," 1911, p. 583.

Richard Mott Jones, LL.D., headmaster of the William Penn Charter School, Twelfth Street, Philadelphia, has sent over a copy of a new publication, *Catalogue of the Graduates of the William Penn Charter School from its Reorganization in 1875 to 1911*, following a volume issued in the Spring of last year, and containing nearly one thousand names. There is also An Appreciation of William Penn, and brief notes of the fifteen Overseers named in the Charter of 1711 (the third)—Samuel Carpenter, Edward Shippen, Griffith Owen, Thomas Story, Anthony Morris, Richard Hill, Isaac Norris, Samuel Preston, Jonathan Dickinson, Nathan Stanbury, Thomas Masters, Nicholas Waln, Caleb Pusey, Rowland Ellis and James Logan.

[2] This anecdote reminds us of a somewhat similar story related of Dr. Robert Pope, of Staines, see THE JOURNAL, v. 200.

The Friends' Year Book for 1912 can now be obtained from Headley Brothers, Bishopsgate, E.C., for 1s. 2d., post free. The new issue, the fourth, has several new features; in addition to the large amount of information respecting a great variety of work conducted by Friends, here brought up to date, there appear for the first time several valuable reviews of the activities of Friends during 1911 along the lines of Home and Foreign Missions, Education, etc. E. Harold Marsh has supplied charts representing Our Increasing Membership and Our Changing Membership, and Ernest E. Taylor occupies four pages with Notes on Recent Literature. Pages 131-153 should be consulted by Friends arranging for lectures during the winter. There is a Calendar of Friendly events.

An address on John Bright, delivered at Rochdale on November 16th, by Augustine Birrell, M.P., has been published by T. Fisher Unwin, Adelphi Terrace, London, for sixpence net.

Headley Brothers have published for May Sunderland McLaughlin a collection of her poems, entitled *Verse Thoughts* (7¼ by 4¾, pp. 55, 1s. net). The author will be remembered by her previous book containing delightful "Parables from Fairyland."

Part I. of *Newmarket Notes* (*Prestatyn Hundred, Flintshire*) is to hand, compiled by Thomas Allen Glenn, of Meliden, Prestatyn, North Wales. The same author has in the press two volumes on "Welsh Founders of Pennsylvania," which are said to give much new information regarding those Friends who removed to Pennsylvania.

The Everlasting Mercy is a striking poem, by John Masefield (London: Sidgwick, 7½ by 5, pp. 91, 3s. 6d. net). It is the story of a man who says of himself:

> "I lived in disbelief of heaven;
> I drunk, I fought, I poached, I whored,
> I did despite unto the Lord.
> I cursed, 'would make a man look pale,
> And nineteen times I went to gaol,"

but who was converted through the medium of a Quakeress, Miss Bourne, of whom we read:—

> "There used to be a custom then,
> Miss Bourne, the Friend, went round at ten
> To all the pubs in all the place,
> To bring the drunkards' souls to grace;
> She come to us near closing time,
> When we were at some smutty rhyme.
>
> * * * *
>
> She up to me with black eyes wide,
> She looked as though her spirit cried;
> She took my tumbler from the bar,
> Beside where all the matches are;
> And poured it out upon the floor dust.
> 'Saul Kane,' she said, 'when next you drink,

Do me the gentleness to think
That every drop of drink accursed
Makes Christ within you die of thirst;
That every dirty word you say
Is one more flint upon His way;
Another thorn upon His head,
Another mock by where He tread,
Another nail, another cross;
All that you are is that Christ's loss.' "

The dedication of the book is "To my wife," who, I believe, is a Friend.

The Biddle Press of Philadelphia has brought out a second edition, revised and enlarged, of *Old Quaker Meeting Houses*, by John Russell Hayes, Librarian of Swarthmore College, Pa. (8½ by 6¾, pp. 240, $1.00 net). The book now contains 166 illustrations. It is beautifully printed on grey paper.

In *The English Historical Review*, for July, 1911, there is an article by Champlin Burrage (an American gentleman, who spent some time in D. several years ago) on "Anna Trapnel's Prophecies," which contains a review of a large book of verse, lettered on the back "Quaker Poems," once offered to the Reference Library by the then owner, and since acquired by the Bodleian Library. This book should have borne the title "*Anti*-Quaker Poems," as the author writes against early Friends. Mr. Burrage ascribes the book to Anna Trapnel, a "prophetess" of the middle seventeenth century, not a Friend, though so described on a scarce print of her, published in 1823,—"Hannah Trapnel, a Quaker and Pretended Prophetess." Some of Anna Trapnel's writings are noted in Smith's "Catalogue of Friends' Books."

A Quaker Royal Descent sets out the descent of our Friend, Henry Stanley Newman, of Leominster, through many generations, from Edward III. Compiled by Josiah Newman, F.R.Hist.Soc. Quakerism entered this ancestral record in the person of Dorothy Onslow, afterwards Somerford, who died at Somerford Hall, 15 Oct. 1681. See THE JOURNAL, vol. vi.

The ninety-ninth number of *The Annual Monitor* has appeared, full, as usual, of instructive records of well-spent lives. There are thirty-two memoirs and sixteen portraits. The Editor, Francis A. Knight, informs us that this is to be the last issued under his care. (London: Headley, 5¾ by 3¾, pp. 213, 1s. 6d. net.)

The report of the Conference of Young Friends held at Swanwick, Derbyshire, from August 28th to September 4th, 1911, may be obtained from Headley Brothers, 140, Bishopsgate, London, for 1s. net. It contains two hundred pages of valuable and thought-stirring articles, as, for instance, "The Person and Place of Jesus Christ," by Wm. C. Braithwaite; "The Ethical Application of the Quaker Message," by B. Seebohm Rowntree; and "The History of the Society of Friends," by A. N. Brayshaw.

By the kindness of the author, a valuable addition has been made to the rich store of Quaker family biography on the shelves of the Devonshire House Reference Library—*Records of the Gibbins Family; also a few Reminiscences of Emma J. Gibbins, and Letters and Papers Relating to the Bevington Family*, edited by Emma Gibbins, of Edgbaston, and printed for private circulation by Cornish Brothers, Ltd., of Birmingham. This is a beautiful volume in quarto, of 343 pages, printed at the Oxford University Press, and contains many illustrations. Two genealogical charts introduce several allied families, among them, Palmer, Brueton, Tunstall, Lovell, Bowly, Aggs, Tregelles, Cadbury, Gillett, Storrs, Biddle, Shewell. There is a good index.

James N. Richardson, of Bessbrook, Ireland, has given us some chatty *Reminiscences of "Friends" in Ulster*, in a book of one hundred pages, printed by John Bellows, of Gloucester, 1911. There are thirty-seven short accounts in this beautifully printed little volume, referring principally to members of the families of Barcroft, Bell, Bewley, Clibborn, Green, Haughton, Malcomson, Richardson, Wakefield. Price 2s., post free.

Another volume of the Rowntree series has been published—*The Beginnings of Quakerism*, by William Charles Braithwaite, B.A., LL.B. (London, etc.: Macmillan, 8¾ by 5½, pp. 562, and maps, 12s. net). This remarkable volume is the result of many hours of patient research among ancient literature—a history based upon original materials, but presented in modern literary form. The Author acknowledges his indebtedness to the publications of the Friends' Historical Society.

Of a very different character is another book on Friends—a second edition of *The Quakers, A Study Historical and Critical*, by Frederick Storrs Turner (London: George Allen, 7¾ by 4¾, pp. 448, eight illustrations, 6s.). Contrary to the advice of several Friends, the Author has reprinted his first edition of 1889, with some corrections and additions, rather than re-written the book in the increased light thrown upon the subject by more than twenty years of study and research. Thus the outward form is curious—*e.g.*, "this nineteenth century" (p. 73), and the index is rendered useless by its having been re-printed without alteration of figures to suit altered pages! There are four mistakes in the short preface to the second edition. Joseph J. Green, whose "assistance and advice" is acknowledged, wishes it to be understood that he did not see any proof-sheets; he thinks that the author must have misunderstood him regarding the note on p. 97, which note is, of course, quite incorrect. Inaccuracies are evident in various places:—p. 2 Fox was born "1625," p. 26 gives "1624," his "suit of leather is not quite historical," p. 3, he states, himself, "he was made to get Lethern Breeches *& Dubblet*" (*Jnl. F.H.S.* vii. 78); Gervase Bennett was not a *judge*, p. 56; Bevan Braithwaite did not go to *Iona*, when travelling in America (p. 414)! The "latest statistics"

(p. 422) are taken from the Minutes of Y.M. *1900*! Many Friends will object to the statement in a new chapter that "those who now bear the name and carry on the worship and work of the Society do not profess to enjoy the inward Light, the Christ within, the seed of God in the heart" (p. 412).

While in attendance at Baltimore Y.M. of Orthodox Friends last Autumn, I met Jacob Baker, a Minister with certificate from Ohio Y.M.—an alert, hale, old Friend of eighty-four years of age. Jacob Baker, whose home is in Adrian, Michigan, has recently caused to be printed an autobiography, *Incidents of My Life and Life Work of Eighty-Four Years* (Richmond, Ind.: Nicholson, 7¾ by 5½, pp. 232, $1.50). There is no lack of definiteness about this book. Of his conversion, he states, "June 1, 1863, at the age of thirty-six years and twenty-one days, at 9.30 a.m., I was born again" (p. 29), and of conversion he writes, "I most emphatically declare that such a radical change is absolutely necessary over and above the best religious training the home, school, or church can give" (*ibid.*). It is in such a book as this that the great revivals of religion in Middle and Western America in the latter half of the nineteenth century must be studied.

Sections 2 and 3 of *Family Chronicles*, prepared by Lilian Clarke, The Old Market, Wisbech, have made their appearance (9¾ by 5½, 103 pp., 5s. 6d. each). Section 2 deals with the Chapmans of Whitby, and their descendants, taken from the Chapman MSS. "compiled, 1786, by William Chapman [aet. 73], formerly of Whitby, lately of Barnes, and now of Newcastle-on-Tyne, partly from his own knowledge, and from information of his Grandfather, and from ancient records." These MSS. include notices of the families of Temple, Linskill, Baynes, Moreland, Wardell, and Walton. Section 3 follows the descent of Ingram Chapman, and introduces Bensons, Clemeshas, Clarkes, Bleckly Smiths. Each Section is fully supplied with genealogical charts.

NORMAN PENNEY.

Divine Guidance.

The following account was related by Thomas Wagstaffe, of Stockwell:[1]

My Father[2] one day going to Baugust [Baughurst] Monthly Meeting (he at that time living at Overton in Hampshire) intended staying all

[1] Thomas Wagstaffe (1724-1802), watchmaker. See *Piety Promoted*.

[2] Thomas Wagstaffe's parents were Thomas and Sarah (née French). See THE JOURNAL, viii. 94.

night, and accordingly informed my Mother that she need not expect him home till next day.

About noon, a man came to their house and enquired for my Father in the name of Cousin Wagstaffe ; on which the shop maid went and call'd her Mistress, who coming interrogated him who he was ; he said his name was John Stansbury, that he came from Philadelphia, and had a sister married to Rob^t Jordan, with many other particulars that left her no reason to doubt he was the person he said, she having heard of his unsteady conduct.

After having invited him in to take some refreshment, he discovered some solicitude, often looking through the window, which induced my Mother to enquire the cause of ; he said he had a companion without ; she said, " It rains hard, ask him in," which he did, and they both took their seats by the fire and conversed in a foreign language. Their looks on the children, who were running about the room, excited fear in my Mother, as she said she could describe it in no other terms than by saying " their looks were devilish." The washerwomen who had been employed in the day were so terrified, that they would not leave their mistress with these strangers.

Very unexpectedly about nine in the evening the shop maid came in and informed her mistress that her master was come home ; My Mother went into the shop to meet him, and enquired the cause of his unexpected return ; he going to the back of the shop told her, he had felt such an impression upon his mind of some danger attending his family, that if he had had wings he should have flown home.

My Mother then informed him of the two men who were then in the hall, upon which my Father went in and with a stern countenance inquired, " Which of you is J^as Stansbury ? take thyself and companion away, I have no lodging for you, and do thou come to me alone tomorrow morning " ; which he did, and was reprehended by my Father for his unsteady conduct, having for some time demonstrated it. They went away to a public house in the town where was a travelling tinker, who had formerly been a soldier in Spain and understood the Spanish language, in which they conversed ; he afterwards reported that my Mother and the children had like to have been murdered, had it not been for my Father's return. Sometime after the tinker coming to my Father's shop, my Mother said to him, " Thomas, I hear thou hast said that I and my family had like to have been murdered, what reason hadst thou for it ? " He replied, " Ah ! Mistress, its true, for one night when I was at the Fighting Cocks, two men came in late in the evening, and talked together in the Spanish language, not knowing that I understood it, they cursed my master for coming home saying what a fine booty they should have had ; their plot was to have murdered you and the children in the night and to have stripped the house."

My Father's return happily prevented the execution of their design, and is an instance of Providential protection and preservation worthy of commemoration.

From a MS. book in the possession of Lucy Candler, of Tunbridge Wells, 1911.

The following Relation was received from Isaac Pickerell,[1] an antient friend of Reading in Berkshire, when Thomas Wagstaffe[2] with Rebecca Smith[3] and Lucy Bradley,[4] were on a visit at his house in 1749. At the time of the following occurrence he lived in London in the Borough.

I was informed, said he, of an antient woman friend living in Long Lane who had let in some discouragement apprehensions that as she was then but little known, her connections being mostly removed, friends would not permit her body to be interred in their burial ground, which, when I heard of, I with a friend or two went and paid her a visit. On coming to her habitation and enquiring for her, a little girl ran in and said, "Grandmother here is some of your friends asking for you," on which she rose up and met us at the door, and taking us by the hand said, "And is it some of my dear friends come to see me! The Lord preserve them and me to the end."

Having sat down with her and conversed about the subject of her uneasiness, we informed her that she might rest quite satisfied about it, for there would be no objection to it, and we further added that if she needed any assistance for her support she should have every accommodation in our power to procure her, which tended to revive her and she cheerfully said, "Now friends I'll tell you how I was first convinced. I was a young lass at that time, and lived in Dorsetshire, when George Fox first came into that country, and he having appointed a meeting to which the people generally flock'd, I went among the rest, and in my going along the road this query arose in my mind: 'What is that which I feel that condemneth me when I do evil and justifieth me when I do well; what is it?' In this state I went to the meeting which was a large gathering. George Fox rose with these words, 'Who art thou that queriest in thy mind what is that which I feel that condemneth me when I do evil and justifieth me when I do well, what is it? I will tell thee. Lo! he that formeth the mountains and created the winds and declareth unto man what is his thoughts that maketh the morning darkness and treadeth upon high places of the Earth. The Lord the God of Hosts is his name. It is He by his Spirit that condemneth for evil and justifieth thee when thou doest well. Keep under its dictates and it will be thy preserver to the end.'"

To which she added, "It was the truth, the very truth, and I have never departed from it."

From a MS. book in the possession of Lucy Candler, of Tunbridge Wells, 1911.

[1] Isaac Pickerell (c. 1677-1756), of Reading, removed from London in 1723. See Testimony in D.

[2] Thomas Wagstaffe, watchmaker, born at Banbury, 1724, died at Chipping Norton, 1802. See *Piety Promoted*.

[3] Rebecca Smith (c. 1714-1768), of Nailsworth, Glos. See Testimony in D.

[4] Lucy Bradley, afterwards Ecroyd (c. 1735-1776), of Bromyard in Herefordshire, and later of Edge-End, Lancs. See *Piety Promoted*.

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THE JOURNAL

OF THE

FRIENDS' HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

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D.=The Reference Library of London Yearly Meeting, Devonshire House, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.

F.P.T.="*The First Publishers of Truth*," published by the Friends' Historical Society, 1907.

Camb. *Jnl.*=*The Journal of George Fox*, published by the Cambridge University Press, 1911.

Ell. *Jnl.*=*The Journal of George Fox*, edited by Thomas Ellwood, 1694.

Notice.

The Annual Meeting of the Society will be held in Manchester, on the 23rd of Fifth Month, at 2 p.m., in Room 12.

The chair will be taken by A. Neave Brayshaw, B.A., LL.B. A letter from the President, Amelia Mott Gummere, of Haverford, Pa., will probably be read.

Notes and Queries.

LAUGHARNE, WALES.—"There were Quakers formerly residing in Laugharne. Their burying-place was the part still called 'The Quaker Yard,' a field near Ants' Hill, on the opposite side of the road to it."—*Antiquities of Laugharne*, by Mary Curtis, 1880, p. 102.

"Several families of the Quakers resided here formerly. In a field belonging to Horse Pool Farm they had their burying-ground; it is entered by a gate on this side of the upper gate of Ants' Hill House, and opposite to it. From the gate you pass down a narrow path with trees on each side; at the end of it, and on the right, is an opening into a square plot of ground closed in on all sides but one with a hedge and trees; it is the 'Quakers' Yard.' It dates from about 1660. Some poplar trees then stood here. Here passed the old road from St. Clears. It turned first into the Llanddowror road, just past Cross Inn, then by Ants Hill; passed by the 'Quakers' Yard' to Horse Pool and the bottom of the Holloway Fields; ending at the ruined inn called 'The Dials' by the Laques." (*ibid.*, p. 160.)

In 1753 John Churchman writes (*Life*, 1779, p. 153):—

"Next meeting was at Jamestown, and in the evening of the day following at Larn [Laugharne] with the people of the Town, who behaved civilly, but seemed barren as to religion in a right sense. There is but *one* in this town in unity with Friends, and he seemed near his end, whom I visited."

"The Independents of Laugharne trace their origin to the labours of the Rev. Stephen Hughes, etc. . . . They are next found at the Mwr near Morfabach in 1704; they continued there till 1750, when they migrated to the town of Laugharne, settling at 'The Bachs' till 1850, when a disused old meeting-house of the Quakers was given them on the cliff where the present chapel stands." [*Hist. of Independents in Wales*, by Drs. Rees and Thomas.]—ELLA K. BARNARD, 1750, Park Avenue, Baltimore, Md.

CARLYLE AND FOX.—In *Sartor Resartus* Carlyle writes regarding Fox's consultations with clergymen, "The Clergy of the neighbourhood, the ordained Watchers and Interpreters of that same holy mystery, listened with unaffected tedium to his consultations and advised him, as the solution of such doubts, to 'drink beer and dance with the girls.'" Where in Fox's *Journal* do the words here quoted occur?

[The nearest approach to the words quoted is the following:—

"I went to another Ancient *Priest* at *Mancetter* in *Warwickshire*, and reasoned with him about the Ground of *Despair* and *Temptations*; but he was ignorant of my Condition; And he bid me

Take Tobacco, and *sing Psalms*. *Tobacco* was a thing I did not love; and *Psalms* I was not in an Estate to *Sing*: I could not *Sing*." We do not recall to mind in the *Journal* the words here quoted: "drink beer and dance with the girls." ED.]

FRIENDS IN THE WEST INDIES (ix. 2).—An outline history of Quakerism in the West Indies can be found in *The Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, 1892 and 1894, and also in THE JOURNAL, 1908. *The Friend* (Phila.), of 1898 contains a full account of the dissolution of Friends' Meetings in Barbados. In Antigua there was only one Friend left in 1748. There was never any meeting on Montserrat, but Robert King, a Philadelphia Friend, had a trading establishment there in 1763. *The Journal of Thomas Chalkley* gives a considerable amount of information about Friends in the West Indies, 1706-1741.—C. DICKINSON STURGE, Harborne, Birmingham.

"REMARKABLE PROVIDENCES."—A curious old folio has recently found a temporary home in D., entitled "A Compleat History of the most Remarkable Providences, both of Judgment and Mercy, Which have Hapned in this Present Age, extracted from the Best Writers, the Author's own Observations, and the Numerous Relations sent him from divers Parts of the Three Kingdoms," etc., compiled by William Turner, M.A., Vicar of Walberton, in Sussex, and published in London in 1697. The slightly more than six hundred pages of this book are full of recitals of extraordinary events of many kinds illustrating such subjects as faith, courage, temperance, chastity, gratitude, retribution, witchcraft, sabbath-breaking, and of Divine judgments upon superstition, murder, unfaithfulness, gluttony, etc.

Chapter 86, titled "Satan permitted to Hurt the Good in their Souls," gives several "passages" relating to Friends. One concerned Robert Churchman[1] and his wife, of Balsham near Cambridge, in 1661, "Persons of a very good Life and of a plentiful Estate," who had "departed from the Church." One night "a violent storm came down upon the room where he lay when it was very calm in all other parts of the town," and "a glimering light appeared. A voice commanded him to go out of his bed naked, with his wife and children," etc., with the result that he returned to the Church. The case of John Gilpin, of Kendal, also receives notice, 1653, and several instances of "shaking, shrieking, yelling, howling and roaring" of Quakers in their meetings—William Spencer, of Wrexham, North Wales, 1653, John Hunter, of Benfieldside, Co. Durham, 1654, and John Toldervy, of London.

For the subject of Judgments, see Camb. *Jnl.*, i. 394; *F.P.T.*, p. 89n; *Beginnings of Quakerism*, p. 276.

[1] Robert Churchman's name appears in Besse's *Sufferings*, under Essex, in 1660.

Some Account of the Rebellion in Ireland.[1]

Limerick, June 4th, 1799.

I will now give you some account of the visitation of the Lord in this Country. The Rebellion was chiefly Confined to the Countys Wexford, Wicklow & Kildare, more particularly Wexford. Indeed that Country may well be said to be drenched in Blood. The rebels had entire possession of that Country for a long Time, & exercised such horrid acts of cruelty as is shocking to Humanity, especially against the Protestants of that Country. Odds of a Hundred together would be put into a Barn and it Burnt about them, & when any would attempt to escape through the windows or Doors, they were immediately stabbed with pikes outside by the rebels under a priest of the name of Murphy. I suppose there was hardly a Protestant family in that whole Country escaped from their wicked hands—butchering some in their Houses, hauling others to prison where they kept them till they were executed, and this they would be by 40 or 50 or 100 of a Day, thinking they were serving God to destroy these Heretics as they called them. However they were not suffered to continue long in their Wicked practices, the King's army warred against them & was victorious, but the whole Country became quite Desolate. Thanks be unto God this City had peace & we had no sign of the Rebellion & Destruction which raged within a few miles of us, except 9 or 10 that were hanged from the Country, there was also a good many flogged severly.

William Kent.

From *Letters of Daniel Kent*, compiled by Ella Kent Barnard, Baltimore, 1904, p. 51. Copy in D.

As illustrating the definite "leadings" of his Lord, some circumstances connected with John H. Dillingham's attendance at a wedding in Trenton, New Jersey, may be recited. Two Friends of his meeting, associated with the proposed marriage as overseers, knew of his intention to be present, and very kindly made the needful inquiry about trains. The evening before, they went to his house, told him the hour of starting, and proposed that he should join them in good time at the station. To their sore disappointment he did not appear, and they began the journey with feelings of chagrin. Some accident delayed their train, and they did not reach the meeting until the marriage was concluded. To their surprise and relief, upon entering the meeting-house, John Dillingham was sitting in the gallery as they would have desired. He had wakened early in the morning with a sense that it would be better for him to take a train in advance, and yielding to such an intimation, was in his right place by what seemed to all a special good providence.

John H. Dillingham, by J. Henry Bartlett, 1912, pp. 129, 130.

[1] See The Journal, vols. ii. and vii.

Two Logan Letters.

The accompanying letter from James Logan to William Penn is among a collection of valuable manuscripts recently presented to Haverford College by the Misses Howland, of Wilmington, Delaware, themselves descended from the writer.[1]

James Logan, the famous Secretary for William Penn in Pennsylvania (b. Oct. 20th, 1674; d. Oct. 31st, 1751), the writer, refers to the many privateers and pirates then infesting Delaware Bay and the coasts of New Jersey and Maryland. He alludes in strong terms to the perfidy of Philip Ford and his family, who, as agent for Penn, had defrauded him of so much of his income. Edward Shippen, who is named, was the Mayor of Philadelphia, whose daughter married Thomas Story, and died after a short married life without having accompanied him to England. Correspondence shows that James Logan was also a suitor for her hand at one time, but the slight coolness that fell between the two Quaker rivals did not last long, and James Logan married Sarah Read. "D.Ll." is David Lloyd, described as the "Quaker Boss,"[2] in the politics of Pennsylvania. He was a violent opponent of the government, and a demagogue in plain clothes.

It will be noticed that James Logan is in favour of William Penn's resigning the government to the Crown. This was a measure not carried out for some years, and in fact only about to be accomplished at the time of the first paralytic stroke of the Founder in 1712. Logan's conclusion, "that a due administration of Government (especially in a time of war) under an English Constitution, is irreconcileable with our [Quaker] principles," is an

[1] These papers are to be called, in memory of their mother, "The Gulielma M. Howland Collection." They contain many early letters of the Logan, Hill, Smith, Dillwyn, Emlen, Morris, Moore, and other families, and date well back into the eighteenth century, those few which are earlier belonging to James Logan, with one autograph copy of a letter of William Penn. Most of the collection forms an important study of a certain type of social life between 1750 and 1830, in both England and America.

[2] President Sharpless, in his studies of Pennsylvania History.

interesting and suggestive summing up of the administration of the Quakers in the Province of Pennsylvania. The letter concludes with an honest disclaimer of any charges made by his and Penn's enemies against his fair name.

The letter signed "William Logan" is from the grandson of Penn's Secretary. It gives such a thrilling account of his escape from shipwreck, and shows him in such a fine light, that no apology is needed for its publication. His father, the eldest surviving son of James Logan, William Logan, Senior, was born 5 mo. 14, 1718, and died 10 mo. 28, 1776.[3] He was a member of the City Council in Philadelphia for thirty years, and in 1747 became a member of that of the Governor. Two years later he was one of the Commissioners to negotiate a Treaty with the Indians at the State House in Philadelphia in the summer of 1749, when two hundred and sixty Indians from various nations were in attendance.[4] William Logan, Senior, married, March 24th, 1740, Hannah, daughter of George Emlen, of Philadelphia. His Quaker principles led him to decline to take any part in the Revolutionary struggle. William and Hannah Logan had six children, of whom the eldest son and daughter died young. The others married:—William (the writer of this letter), Sarah Portsmouth; Sarah married Thomas Fisher; George, also a physician, married Deborah Norris, of whom some account was given in the second volume of this JOURNAL. Charles, the youngest of the family, married Mary Pleasants.

The sons of William and Hannah Logan were educated in England. William, following the example of an uncle, William, who for years was a successful practitioner of medicine in Bristol, took up the same calling, and it was doubtless while visiting relatives there that this letter was written. He returned to Philadelphia, married, and was entering upon a successful career, when he was cut off by death in his prime. It was his persuasion, coupled with the evident talent in that direction shown by the lad, that finally determined

[3] James Logan wrote a remarkable letter of advice to this son on going to England for his education, published in *Hazard's Register*. His uncle, William, left him his library of 1,300 books.

[4] *The Burlington Smiths*, by R. Morris Smith, p. 159.

their father to permit the second son, George, his junior by only one year, to take up the study of medicine also; and after his brother's early death, George went to Edinburgh and made the brilliant record in medicine which was never carried further, as the inheritance of "Stenton" determined him to take up the agricultural pursuits which engaged his attention for the rest of his life, when he was not immersed in politics and diplomacy.

Dr. William Logan was born in 1747, and was therefore twenty years of age when this letter was written. He graduated at Edinburgh in 1770, and married Sarah, the daughter of Dr. Portsmouth; her death occurred in March, 1797. They had a daughter, who died young, and a son, William Portsmouth Logan, who lived at Plaistow, Essex, England, and died, unmarried, before his mother.

Dr. William Logan's death took place on January 17th, 1772, at the early age of twenty-five.

AMELIA M. GUMMERE.

Haverford, Pa.

I.

JAMES LOGAN TO WILLIAM PENN.

Pilhad[a] 19[th] 5[mo] 1708.

Hon[d] Govern[r]

At length I have rec[d] thine by Ab. Scott & Rich[d] Townsend who arrived here but 3 dayes agoe from Maryl[d] All the Virginia fleet are come in safe only Young for this place falling in for the same Privateers who have done so much mischief on our Capes, is taken. All our outward bound Vessels have been stopt here for these 3 weeks not daring to venture out, & now sail under Convoy of a small Man of War from New York who comes round on purpose. 'Tis this gives me another opportunity by Hammerton.

The Acct[s] I have had of thy Draughts on me could not but give me some uneasiness but the List I have now rec'd by thine of y[e] 16[th] 8[mo] has removed great part of it. The total I perceive is 1746[lbs] 19 :—w[ch] tho' a large Sum, yet falling under 2000[lbs] w[ch] is still less than I fear'd I shall struggle hard, but by some means or other I'le

answer them so, as that thou shalt never hear of them again to thy dissatisfaction. Many even of thy frds here are of opinion that nothing of that kind ought to be paid, untill we have assurances that the Countrey will be secured from the ffords, because otherwise the Commcs are told that they will all be call'd into question for the Sales they have made under thee, but for my part I am too far engaged to look back. I am certainly ruin'd if the Countrey be lost, & cannot be more so. To be call'd on for 2 thousd or 200 thousd of my own makes no difference at all, & therefore I shall not stop at anything myself if not hindered by others, as 'tis very probable I shall, if there be not at least a great probability of thy keeping the Countrey at the time ye Bills are to be pd, but there is this further in it, that in case it prove otherwise, the Bonds I have will be good for nothing. However, I have a very great confidence that there is no danger but that some means or other will be found effectually to relieve thee. Yet I cannot think but there was a great Conveniency (not to say Necessity) in writing as I did to the frds there in answer to their Lettr, tho' I have ever since been jealous I should be taxed for too great plainness. Pray be pleased to furnish me with all the strength that is possible to obviate thy Enemies Endeavours to obstruct paymt, otherwise I may fail whatever mine be.

The Ship *Diligence*, if she be arrived safe, will supply thee I hope wth 400lbs sterl. and thy Son with half as much.

E. Shippen has been a long time fully restor'd among frds, & therefore since he asks for thee as before, may claim ye same regard as formerly.

'Tis in vain to propose to frds here to deal with D. Ll. his party is so strong that it would occasion the greatest convulsions among them. I have frequently press'd it as a matter absolutely incumbent on them unless they would make themselves partners in his Villany, but tho' many would most gladly see it done, yet they dare not adventure on it, 'twould split them, they say, to pieces.

As for thy resigning all into the Queen's hands, if they fail to doe it, I think (as I have repeatedly wrote) that most of thy frds here who have any thought about them are agreed that is the most advisable step thou

canst take, especially if some tolerable terms can be made, and anything can be gott for it. This last business of the Privateers upon our Coasts infesting us above others, because unarm'd, has brought friends to a pretty general Confession that a due administration of Government, (especially in a time of War), under an English Constitution, is irreconcileable with our Principles.

I am sorry any Packet of mine should cost 17/5^{d}, but I could not direct it to —— Lewis (whose first name I know not), because I never that I can remember heard of him before : first I directed to J. Ellis, but he falling into disgrace, I was ordered to J. Parker at S^{r} Cha : Hedge's office—who, being out himself, I desired to know whether Tucker stood, for the future I shall send to Lewis, when I have Pacquets, but cannot handsomely begin with a single Lett^{r}, as this is, I doubt.

The Jnclosed will show that Rakestraw has at last mett with his deserts in part. I shall send an Authentick Copy with y^{e} Minutes of y^{e} meeting Sign'd, but cannot now. I have had some trouble with him but wish I had as fair a hearing with all our Enemies, for they are much alike.

Of the Lotts by Joseph Desborows, there is one laid out to Tho: Callowhill, the rest were disposed of to Purchasers by thy own Ord^{r} when here.

I know not what T: ff may doe by his Letters but neither his Service nor the contrary is of moment here. Yet I have alwayes kept very fair with him.

The last expression of thy Lett^{r} Desires me to be easy to all in general, & also Just to all not leaving thee out of that Direction. I am sensible that no man can be more obnoxious to censure & misrepresentations than myself, yet I know the Value of a good Reputation, but my Engagem^{ts} are too binding on me to dispense with any essential part of my Duty for y^{e} Sake of popular air. A good Conscience I have long resolved should be my only Dependence without much regard to the Senti^{mts} or discourse of others w^{ch} not being in my power I must quitt the thoughts of them further than as they depend on the other & yet, I have an intire Confidence that one day they will (I mean a good Conscience & Reputation) tho'

not suddenly with me. Yet after all I find it a little Irksome, when I stand so much exposed for thy sake, to fall under Suspicion even with thee. But the same fortress will support me in this also. And all I shall desire is that my Justice may be tried. I hope now thou wilt not trust any man after so villanous an Abuse from fford, & for my own part I never thought it was for mine or any honest man's Advantage to be trusted further than necessity obliged, for when all men see for themselves none can be uneasy. I know there are some particulars in wch I could have wrong'd thee, because an Error could not easily have been discovered by the Sharpest eye, but I had the Character of honest before that of Secty & hope its lustre will not be found tarnish'd after ye other's gone.

I have enlarg'd thus because within these 2 years I have had divers hints to the same purpose for wch I am p'suaded I never gave occasion. I am ye same as ever & without disguise

Thy faithful & obedt Servt
J.L.

II.

William Logan to his Parents.

Bristol Novr 14th 1767.

My Dear and Honoured Parents :

I am glad that I have the pleasure of informing you that thro the Interposition of a most merciful Providence, I am arrived in England after a quick passage of about 4 weeks & 4 days, a passage which has been to me a school of much adversity, & I hope in the End will prove an awakening and instructive Lesson.

We sailed from the Capes[5] I think the 8th of October, the first few Days were fair and flattering, but at length a violent Gale at N.E. obliged us to bring too under a ballanc'd Mainsail, which continued 24 hours, during this, the Vessel by reason of her deep Load, struck against her stern Counter in the most horrible Manner, at length the Captain casually heard a small Leak pour into her

[5] Of the Delaware River.

about the Rudder Case. We instantly got down all our Lockers and Bulkheads, when dreadfull to relate a 2 in. plank near her Stern Post was Stove in about half an inch, and probably the next Stroke would have burst it in, & we must have presently sunk. This we secured and it lasted us throughout the Passage without further accident.

We had a fine strong Gale at S.W. from the Banks of Newfoundland, & got into Soundings the 11th of Novr off Ireland. On the 12th we had violent Gales at W. We ran in for the land till noon & then stood off. The next Day, the 12th [*sic*] the Wind blew a hurricane at S.W. About 8 it Cleared up & we found ourselves close in upon a small Island which we were unanimous was Lundy, accordingly we stood up Channel (as we thought) with Dreadful Squally thick weather. About 12 the sky Cleared a little & we found to our unspeakable horror that we were Embayed. We had but five fathom Water. Our Foresail and Foretopsail Split and tore to Pieces, the Sea runing Mountains high, & Rocks and Breakers all round us. Death Seemed now inevitable. We cleared out our Boat & put into her Provision, Oars, Compass, Papers and everything that was near and dear to us. the lashings were cut & every one Endeavoured to hoist her into the Sea, when all our Strength proved insufficient we were fatigued almost to Death. Seeing that we must die, I called all hands in the Cabbin & we all joined in Supplicating the Almighty to receive our dying Souls into his Mercy. While we were thus employed, a breaker Struck the side and wash'd the Boat overboard, the Stern Sunk & *our all* perished. The next shock broke the Painter & she went adrift, we were now cut off from all hope & therefore returned to prepare ourselves for the ensuing change. After some time spent in Prayer, we took a most affectionate leave of each other, & I went to my Birth and form'd a Sheet around me by way of Shroud & in much Silence and I hope resignation waited for the awful Moment. The Captn & Sailors were at the Pumps & endeavouring to secure the Steerage and hatchway, that the Waves might not go down, when a Monstrous Wave wash'd our poor Mate and a Seaman overboard, & they were instantly drown'd. Our Men now absolutely

refused to stand the Deck, & indeed they could not with Safety; they came down distracted & beg'd me to joyn them again in Prayers, which I did in their behalf & my own, with Cries of Sincerity. We continued in this Situation until 10 O'clock at Night, as I imagine, & we then found the Impetuosity of the Wind and tide drive us fast on Shoar. As my last Refuge I had strip'd & made a hencoop ready with a Rope thro the Bars to hold me. About 11 She Struck on a Sand with a most dreadful Stroke, which broke her Chain Plates and tumbled everything up in her Cabbin. I seized my Coop & was going to jump into the Sea, when the Capt beg'd me to wait the determination of Providence & desist from the attempt. I stood in my Shirt with the Wind and Rain beating on me a Quarter of an Hour & then retir'd once more to supplicate the Lord to preserve us; all on a sudden, the Wind ceased & the Vessel ceased beating & presently we were surrounded by a Crew of wretches who live by Rapine and Plunder (the Tide had left her dry all round) which we did not know. I lost most of my Cloathes in the Boat & all that I sav'd in the World I put in my Book Trunk and Pillow Case & that night went to the house of a Welsh Smuggler who next day conducted me to Swansey, where some Friends assisted me in getting to this Place where I arrived in good health. I think the Vessel must be lost inevitably. She was a mere Wreck as to rigging in general. I spoke to the Collector of the Customs at Swansey to send some officers to keep the Country from riping her up. I shall write more particularly by Capt Carr who is wind bound in King Road for your Port; in short I have had a most merciful Escape & I hope the Solemn Covenant we all made when the Terrors of Death hovered over us, will not be erased from my mind in the time of Prosperity, but may I ever rest assured that the same hand which delivered me from the Sea may punish my Ingratitude on Land.

My dear Friend Anna Fry is on a visit to Basingstoke. With love to my dear Sister and Brothers & all Relations I am thy most affectionate Son,

William Logan.

P.S.—

The mate is drown'd.

Also Nicholas Stoops, a Seaman from Philadelphia.

All the Ships Papers are lost.

One Bag of Dollars and One of Gold.

All the Captns Cloathes and all he has else.

The Boat ; I suppose may drive a Shoar.

The Vessel has lost : her Stern Rails, One Companion door ; a Spare fore-yard, her Sprit-sails and Yard from the Bowsprit ; her Foresail & Top-Sail, also her Main Chain Plates, & Tom James says there are some bolts drawn. I believe the Capt. protested in time, poor man, he is almost distracted & I think in every point of Seamanship he is as fine a man as I know, Carefull of his Owner's interest & ready to oblige all. his tenderness to me demands more than I can express & I hope his owners will be more humane than to let him suffer on Acct. of this inevitable Misfortune.

George Watson and I intend setting out in two Days for the Vessel to lend her all our Assistance & save all that we can.

W. Logan.

She is lost in a Bay on the Welsh Coast, which turns in abt 4 Leagues N.E. from Lundy, the place is call'd the *Worm head.* (She is hog'd, I think they call it.)

At Holbeach in Lincolnshire, Mr. Sam. Trotheringham [Frotheringham], one of the people call'd Quakers, but no bigot, a man of considerable fortune, and eminent for his learning in general, as well as mathematicks, more particularly algebra, and the doctrine of fluxions, and chances (tho' no gamester) : he was the first man in England who invented a clock with two minute hands ; one shewing the *true time*, and the other the apparent time at all seasons of the year, according to the eccentricity of the earth's orbit, and obliquity of the ecliptick, as settled by Dr. Flamstead ; which was made by Mr. John Berridge late of Boston, now of London ; he was affable, and charitable, of an engaging conversation, and courteous behaviour to people of all perswasions ; and is accordingly lamented by his acquaintance.—Newscutting in D., 1745.

[Samuel Frotheringham died 1745, iv. 22, and was buried at Broad Gate, Gedney. Ed.]

Thirnbeck Manuscripts.

Continued from page 65.

IV.

Henry Fell to Margaret Fell, 1666.

It is not yet evident in what year Henry Fell settled on the island of Barbados. He was on the continent of Europe in 1661 (Camb. *Jnl.* ii. 8), and appears to have left for the New World under some weight of financial difficulties. If he settled on the mainlaind as he proposed to do, it could not have been for long, as later letters to M. Fell are written from Barbados (1672, see *Fells*, p. 281 ; 1673/4, see Camb. *Jnl.* ii. 256).

Barbados y^e^ 20^th^ of y^e^ 4^th^ month, 1666.

Deare M: F

Thy kinde and Lovinge Letter J rece^d^ w^ch^ was dated the 9^th^ of y^e^ 10^th^ Month 1665 aboue six month after y^e^ writing of it. how euer it was exceeding welcome to me ; for J was very much refreshed, and melted with the tendernes of thy loue ; the Lord reward thee seuenfould into thy owne bosome. mine with my wiues very deare loue Salutes thee ; and ffriends that wayes. J haue written Seuerall Letters w^ch^ J pceiue haue come to thy hands, though some J beleeue haue miscarryed ; but it may be more of thyne to me. y^e^ Seas now are very troublesome & passage difficult by reason of y^e^ warr[16] whereby many Shipps haue Miscarryed and y^e^ Shipps are stopt from trading, by y^e^ Kings Jmbargo w^ch^ hinders y^e^ recourse of o^r^ letters. J could write much as concerning ffriends in relation to Truth, in this place, but J see it not conveynient to mention at p^r^sent only we enjoye our meetings peacable, but things are not well ; for though good seed hath beene sowne ; yet the enemy hath sowen tares, w^ch^ come up, & ouertopp y^e^ other and most haue come to great losse. J am very Sencible of it my selfe to my great sorrow & greife. and he that only can restore

[16] The second Dutch war, 1665-67, terminating in the Peace of Breda, July, 1667, whereby the colonies of Delaware, New Jersey, and New York were ceded to the English.

& repaire is the lord. J desire thy prayers in the Spirit wch intercedes with ye ffather & god of all Comfort and Consolation. Some ye lord hath taken away who troubled us here. J suppose yee haue heard of J P: death at Jamaica before this tyme.[17] here is one R. Stacke now in the Jsland who came hither lately from virginia,[18] his worke is like ye former, & end will be the same. A.C:[19] J.N. & his wife[20] and litle Ann Coalman[21] went lately for Road Jsland. Soe that here is none in ye ministry at prsent. J haue often wished for Tho: Salthouse[22] or Geo: Whitehead[22] to come hither (or some other good sound ffriend) if ye will of ye lord were soe; wch might sett things in order, wch might be great Seruice. J am euen now ready to take shipping for New Yorke, in New England (it was formerly called Manathas); J haue bought a pt of ye vessell J goe in; my Jntentions is to see ffriends there abouts that are setled, and if J like ye Country J intend ye next yeare (if the lord will) to carry my wife thither, and dwell there. J hope J may be backe at this Jsland about 4 or 5 monthes hence. my wife stayes here and her ffamilly where she did till J returne, J hope to see A C: and ye rest of ffriends before J returne. my very deare loue is to all thy children, and ffriends in thy ffamilly and elswhere. Alsoe let my very deare

[17] This, no doubt, refers to John Perrot. His death must have taken place between Fourth Month, 1665, the date of a letter from him to some English Friends, and the date of this letter. John Taylor was on the Island when Perrot died, and he resided there from March, 1663/4, till May, 1666 (Camb. *Jnl.*). The reference to his death in Camb. *Jnl.* ii. 376 should be modified accordingly.

[18] Not identified. A Robert *Stake* was imprisoned in Maryland in 1661 (*Besse*, ii. 380).

[19] Perhaps, Anne Clayton (Cleaton), who married Governor Easton, of Rhode Island. See Camb. *Jnl.*

[20] Probably, Joseph and Jane Nicholson. See Camb. *Jnl.*

[21] Of Ann Coleman there is, at present, great dearth of information except respecting her travels in America. The one letter of hers known to us (D. Swarth. MSS. iv. 225) was addressed to G. Fox from Rhode Island, 17. v. 1663, and endorsed by the recipient "to gf 1663 this womon was a drovers & died in barmouds in the trouth," implying, perhaps, that her previous name was Ann Drover, and also that she died in Bermudas. In above letter she writes, "Five times J have bin a prisonet and in ther tovnes J have bin wipt be side stoning and kicking and striking." John Taylor met her in Boston, N.E., in 1666.

[22] For these Friends, see Camb *Jnl.*

loue be remembered to deare G.ff when thou writes. yee are very often in my rememberance, and J doe greatly honor yee in ye Lord. my loue Salutes deare L:ff :[23] & R. Cleayton,[24] and all ye ffaithfull as if J named them desireing yor prayers for me yt J may be prserued in ye Euerlasting Truth to ye end, to receiue an Jnheritance amongst the saints.

Thy ffriend in my measure of Truth,
HEN: FELL.

This letter occupies one page of a folio sheet ; the fly-leaf has been partially destroyed. The letter is addressed : " To my very deare ffriend Margret ffell prisonr at Lancaster dd these," and endorsed by G. Fox : " henery fell to mff 1666." There is another endorsement, by John Abraham : " Henry ffell a ffriend In early times, his Letter to my Dear and Honourd Grand Mother." On the back of the letter are several arithmetical calculations !

V.

ELLIS HOOKES TO MARGARET FELL, 1666.

The correspondence between Ellis Hookes, Friends' secretary in London, and M. Fell was voluminous. Many letters from the former to the latter are extant.

Two subjects—a lull in persecution in London and an attempt to obtain the release of G. Fox from Scarborough Castle—engage attention in this letter. The writer modestly omits reference to his own efforts for the release of G.F. Another letter from the same to the same, written twelve days later, on the subject of the release, is printed in the Camb. *Jnl.* (ii. 102). George Fox was liberated on the 1st of the following month.

Deare Mff.

My deare and everlasting loue is vnto thee in ye Truth wherein J am sensable yt my loue is as deare to thee as ever. J received thy letter wth one enclosed of John Rous & now thou may know by this that freinds

[23] That is, Leonard Fell. See Camb. *Jnl.*

[24] For Richard Clayton (Cleaton), see Camb. *Jnl.*

are gen^lly well heere & our Meetings are queit & through the Lords loue wee enioy a Calm heere in the midst of all these stormes & troubles that are in the World w^ch is the Lords loue towards vs and he preserues vs throw his infinite loue, blessed be his name for ever. There was lately two Women freinds gaue the King a short letter from G[eorge] W[hitehead] w^ch the King was pleased to take & read the substance of it was a Warning to him to sett open the prison doores, w^ch when he read he said it would bee a good way indeed Then the freind asked him if he would doe it he said he would consider of it, he hath alsoe been pleased through the desire of some heere (by y^e Master of requests[25]) to grant an order to release G. ff. which J Whitehead[26] hath vsed great dilligence in procureing the order & wee think to lay the rest of ffreinds sufferings before the King speedily. Soe J am in hast at present who am thy Lo: freind, E.H.

London, 2^d 6 Mo. 1666.

J. W. is gonn downe w^th the order. J would haue thee keep it private at present for wee know not what obstructions may be mett w^th but J doe not much question his release.

The letter occupies the centre of the first page of a quarto sheet. It is addressed: "For my Lov: ffreind M ffell. Leaue this w^th Thomas Green at his shopp in Lancaster," and endorsed by G. Fox: "e hovkes to mff 1666," and by John Abraham: "Ellis Houkes his Letter to my Dear and Honourd Grand Mother. Hee was a brave Seruiceable man In those Days for Truth."

VI.

The Same to the Same, 1666.

Portions of this letter, with various errors in transcription, are printed in *Fells*, p. 243.

A letter written on the 2nd of the previous month, printed in *Fells*, p. 242, original in D., should be read in

[25] Sir John Birkenhead, see Camb. *Jnl.*

[26] For John Whitehead, see Camb. *Jnl.*

connection with this letter. Later information is here communicated, relating to the Great Fire; and other occurrences in the City are reported for the benefit of the distant correspondent.

Deare M ff.

My deare loue is vnto thee in the truth wch changeth not J received two letters from thee since J wrote but J haue been in the Country and soe could not Conveniently write to thee; J suppose thou may ere this haue received E Stubbs[27] letter wherein she hath given thee an Account of what she hath donne both as cleereing her selfe heere & in spreading thy papers amongst the Rulers. concerning thy great booke[28] W. W. hath it but has not donne any thing in it as yett: but J think he intends to doe it in a short tyme; Wee expect G ff. heere very shortly; concerning what thou desired to know how it was with freinds where the fire was; there was very few but lost a great deale yett not soe much J think as the people of ye World lost because freinds were helpfull one to the other; Thomas Coveny[29] lost most or all his bedds & goods by reason they prest his Carts for the king's vse & the Mayors; ffreinds are pretty well setled againe, and will gett tradeing again in a little tyme; The Parliament are about makeing an Act against the Papists that none of them shall beare any office in the kingdome & that all that are souldiers shall be turned out except they will take the oaths of Allegiance & Supremacy, & goe to the Steeplehouse & take the Sacrament. last 7th day heere was another fire broke forth in

[27] Elizabeth Stubbs was the wife of John Stubbs (Camb. *Jnl.*). She died in Clerkenwell, London, in 1710, aged ninety years.

[28] It is not yet evident which of the two books written by M. Fell, longer than the others, is here referred to, whether *The Standard of the Lord Revealed*, or *A Touchstone*. This "bigg booke" is also mentioned in earlier letters (Camb. *Jnl.* ii. 103, 402; *Fells*, p. 243, where report is made that the MS. was saved from the Fire and handed to William Warwick, the printer).

[29] Thomas Coveney is mentioned several times among prominent London Friends. In concert with Gerard Roberts and others he wrote two or three papers. According to the London Registers, Thomas Coveney of Newington Green died from a fall from his horse and was buried at Checker Alley, 18. v. 1670.

Southwarke neere Mariovers[30] steeple house in a hay loft at a Brewhouse but being in the day tyme & many watermen & seamen being neere did labour hard & soone putt it out ; Jt is Judged by most people that it was fired by some treacherous body ; that would have fired that place alsoe for noe body in the house could tell how it came, J am nott as yett setled in a place since the fire but J am about takeing a chamber in Aldersgate Street ; J am at present at Anne Travers[31] at Horsly-downe ; Thou may write to me at John Staploe[32] neere the 3 Cuppes at y^e^ further end of Aldersgate Street. Anne Travers rememberes her deare loue to thee. Soe w^th^ my deare loue to thy daughter Margrett and the rest of thy children & family when thou sees them & to Leo: ffell, J. Stubbs, & Tho: Rawlinson when thou sees them J remaine thy Lo : friend

E H.

London 6. 9^th^ Mo.
1666.

This script occupies one side of a single leaf, which is much discoloured by age. It is endorsed by John Abraham : " Ellis Hookes Letter (who was a very Serviceable and Good man, In Early Days) to my Dear and Honourd Grand Mother."

VII.

Certificate of Marriage of George Fox and Margaret Fell, 1669.

The text of this Certificate is printed in *Fells*, pp. 254n, 429, but a selection only of the signatories, numbering *nineteen* names, is given. The Certificate also appears in *The Irish Friend*, for 1841, and appended to

[30] St. Mary Overies, now Southwark Cathedral, situate near the south end of London Bridge.

[31] For Anne Travers, see Camb. *Jnl.*

[32] John Staploe or Staples was a grocer. In 1682, his address was the Harrow in Aldersgate Street. He was a representative Friend of Peel Monthly Meeting. (*Sundry Ancient Epistles*, MS. in D.) He died in 1717, aged seventy-nine years.

this transcript is a list of *ninety* names, several being incorrectly transcribed. A certified copy from the register of the marriage now deposited at Somerset House[33] is in D.; after giving *twenty-two* names the words are added "and many others." The copy of the Certificate preserved among Thirnbeck MSS. in the handwriting of Sarah Fell, has *ninety-four* names attached to it. These names are here printed.

[First column.]	[Second column.]
JOHN ROUS[34]	WILLIAM TAYLARD[42]
WILLIAM YEAMANS[34]	THOMAS CALLOWHILL[34]
THOMAS LOWER[34]	ERASMUS DOLE[43]
GER: ROBERTS[34]	JOHN WEAR[44]
GEORGE WHITEHEADE[34]	NICHO: JORDAN[45]
EDW: PYOTT[34]	CHARLES HARVORD[46]
CHARLES LLOYD[34]	DAVID SYMMONS[47]
THOMAS GOULDNEY[34]	JEREMIAH HIGNELL[48]
DENNIS HOLLISTER[34]	GEO: GOUGH[49]
JOHN MOONE[35]	JOHN HIGGINS[50]
JOHN WILKINSON[36]	JOHN DANDO[34]
MORGAN WATKINS[34]	CHARLES MARSHALL[34]
FRA: ROGERS[37]	MILES DICKSON[51]
THOMAS NORTH[38]	WILLIAM ROGERS[34]
AMOR STODDART[34]	JOHN BAKER[52]
THOMAS BRIGGS[34]	JOHN WATTS[53]
THOMAS SALTHOUSE[34]	THO: BOURNE[54]
ROB[T] WIDDER[34]	JOHN DOWELL[55]
LEONARD FFELL[34]	GEORGE PHIPPS[56]
CHARLES JONES[39]	THOMAS JORDAN[57]
JOHN LOVE[40]	JOHN HARDIMAN[58]
NATHANIELL DAY[41]	

[Third column.]	[Fourth column.]
MARGRETT ROUS[34]	JANE ROGERS[70]
ISSABELL YEAMANS[34]	ELIZABETH MILNER[71]
MARY LOWER[34]	ELIZABETH SHEWAR[72]
SARAH FELL[34]	MARY WASTFEILDE[73]
SUSAN: FFELL[34]	MARGARETT THOMAS[34]
RACHELL FFELL[34]	JOYCE WARREN[74]
BRIDGETT HOLLISTER[59]	ANN SPEED[75]

[33] Register no. 1509.

[Third column.]
MARY GOULDNEY[60]
MARY PRINCE[61]
HESTER VICKRIS[62]
ANN WHITEHEAD[34]
MARGRETT BISSE[63]
MARTHA FFISHER[34]
ELIZ: ROGERS[64]
SUSANNAH PEARSON[65]
BARBARA BLAGDEN[66]
MARY MORGAN[67]
ELIZABETH PYOTT[68]
JOANE HILEY[34]
ANN JONES[69]
HANNAH SALTER[34]

[Fourth column.]
SARAH MOONE[76]
MARY NORTH[77]
MAGDELEN LOVE[78]
ANNA JORDAN[79]
JOANE DICKSON[80]
MARY FFOARDE[81]
ANNA CALLOWHILL[82]
LIDDIA JORDAN[83]
ANN GANICLIFFE[84]
JANE BATHO[85]
ELIZABETH DOWELL[86]
SUSAN: FFREEMAN[87]
REBECA JENINGS[88]
SUSANNA PEARSON Junior.[89]
KATHEREN EVANS[34]
MARY BALDWIN[90]
SARAH GODBY[91]
ELINER MAIDE[92]
REBECKAH HOWELL[93]
DEBORAH WITHER[94]
SARAH CANN[95]
FFRANCIS MAYNARD[96]
RUTH MARSH[97]

It is noticeable that of the daughters of Margaret Fell, Bridgett is the only absentee, from which it has been inferred that her death had already taken place (Camb. *Jnl.* i. 467). The remaining six daughters appear in age order[98], except in the case of Sarah, where she gives her married sister, Mary, the precedence. In order to balance this, however, Sarah inscribes her name on this copy three times as large as the rest, and underlines it in a determined way!

Of the other signatories it may be noted that about fifteen are well-known Friends from other parts of the country, while the remainder appear to be local Friends.

[34] For these Friends, see Camb. *Jnl.*

[35] There is considerable difficulty in tracing John Moone, owing to his supposed changes of residence. Joseph Smith states that he was first of Carhouse near Garstang, Lancs., later of Bristol, and lastly of Pennsylvania.

He is addressed with other Bristol Friends by George Fox in 1673 (D. Swarth. MSS. trans. v. 17).

[36] No information is at present forthcoming which would enable us to state whether the Friend who witnessed this marriage was John Wilkinson of Cumberland (see Camb. *Jnl.*) or John Wilkinson of Westmorland, one of the leaders in the subsequent separation. The latter was in Bristol on religious rervice in 1662 (*Suff.* i. 43).

[37] Francis Rogers (-1693/4) was a Bristol merchant. He gave forth a "testimony" in favour of the Fox-Fell marriage (MS. in D., cp. Camb. *Jnl.* ii. 416). He was a member of the Committee to examine William Penn's Preface to *The Journal of George Fox* (Morning Meeting Minutes, ii. 35). His daughter, Elizabeth, married into the Champion family (THE JOURNAL, vi. 4).

[38] Thomas North was committed to Bridewell, Bristol, in 1663, for attending a meeting in the street when the meeting-house doors were shut and guarded. He was among the Bristol Friends "convicted in order to Banishment" in 1664 (*Suff.* i. 45, ii. 637). Children of his died in 1672, 1673, 1674, 1676 and 1678.

[39] Charles Jones was a soapmaker in Bristol in 1683 (*Suff.* i. 69, etc.), and a prominent Friend. With George Whitehead and others he appeared before Charles II., to seek liberty for Friends imprisoned in Bristol (*Christian Progress*, pp. 504ff). It is not easy to separate the two Friends of this name, father and son.

[40] John Love, grocer, of Bristol, to be distinguished from John Love (Lufle) who died in Rome in 1658 (Camb. *Jnl.*) and John Love, of Canterbury. "Though having legally served an Apprenticeship in the City, yet because he could not Swear John Love was refused his Freedom, had his Shop several Times shut up, and his Goods taken from him: At length being summoned to the Mayor's Court, and appearing there with his Hat on, he was committed to Prison, 1657." (*Suff.* i. 42, etc.) It was, perhaps, the same John Love, of Bristol, who, from the Bridewell Prison, sent a letter to "the Proud, unstable, passionate Mayor of Bristoll, Nath[ll] Day," in 1706 (Swarth. MSS. v. 100).

[41] Nathaniel Day was a hosier, of Bristol, 1683 (*Suff.* i. 68). His wife's name was Anne (*ibid.*). He died in 1691. In 1706, there was one of the same name Mayor of Bristol (see previous note).

[42] William *Taylor* is mentioned several times by Besse in connection with Bristol. The Bristol Burial Registers for 1670 contain the name William *Taylard*, of Temple Parish.

[43] Erasmus Dole (-1716), of Bristol. His wife, Joyce, died in 1674. In 1683 he is described as "Pewterer," and his wife's name given as Sarah. Sarah Dole died in 1711.

[44] John Ware (Wear) is mentioned by Besse in 1656 (*Suff.* i. 42) and by G. Fox in 1678, among Friends in Bristol (Swarth. MSS. trans. v. 17).

[45] Nicholas Jordan (-1681) is mentioned by Besse as a sufferer in Bath, 1658 (*Suff.* i. 584). He was one of the "Dispersers of Quakers' books" (*Extracts from State Papers*, p. 228).

[46] Charles Harford (1631-1709) came of an ancient and highly-placed family of Marshfield, Glos., and was the first of this family to join the followers of George Fox, which was soon after his marriage with Mary Bushe in 1656. From this marriage the Harfords of Blaise Castle and Stapleton are descended (*Annals of the Harford Family*, 1909). In 1683, he is described as a "sope maker" (*Suff.* i. 68).

[47] David Simonds was one of the Bristol Friends on whom sentence for banishment was passed in 1663-4.

[48] Jeremiah Hignell (-1702) was a prominent Bristolian Friend. He expressed approval in public of the Fox-Fell marriage (MS. in D.). He wrote *Loving and Friendly Advice and Counsel to the Inhabitants of Bristol*, which was printed in 1698 on a folio sheet, in which he urges his fellow-citizens and neighbours to deal plainly with the Lord and their own souls and to see how their lives are squared by the Truth, which search will not hurt any of them. Alice Hignell, wife of Jeremiah, died in 1690. His sister, Temperance Hignell, died in Newgate, Bristol, in 1655.

[49] George Gough was one of the many sufferers under John Knight, Mayor of Bristol, 1663, "who pursued the Quakers as earnestly as if the Prosecution of them had been the chief Business of his Office" (*Suff.* i. 45). He died in 1685.

[50] There was a John Higgins, of *Bristol*, who is mentioned in THE JOURNAL, iv. 121. There was a John Higgins, of *London* and *Kent*, and another of *Lancaster*.

[51] Miles Dixon (Dickson), "An Antient Friend," died in 1672.

[52] There were several local Friends named John Baker, and without further evidence we cannot be sure which of these, or what other Friend of this name, affixed his signature to this certificate.

[53] There was a John Watts, of Clifton, Bristol, who died in 1688.

[54] Thomas Bourne's name appears in *Besse* (ii. 637), among those of Bristol Friends "convicted in order to Banishment" in 1664. He died in 1690.

[55] There were *Dowells* as well as *Doles* in Bristol Meeting. John Dowell, Senior, died in 1676.

[56] George Phipps, of Bristol, died in 1677.

[57] Thomas Jordan (-1688) was a Bristol grocer, of Maryport parish.

[58] John Hardiman was a tailor of Bristol (*Suff.* i. 68).

[59] Bridget Hollister (-1671) was wife of Dennis Hollister.

[60] Mary Gouldney was the wife of Thomas Gouldney.

[61] Mary Prince, widow, of Bristol, died in 1679. Her daughters apparently married into the families of Bisse and Marshall.

[62] Hester Vickris was perhaps the same as *Esther Vickaris*, who died in 1721/2. Richard Vickris (-1700) was a noted Bristol Friend.

[63] Margaret Bisse, of "James Parish," Bristol, died 1700. Her name appears in the Box Meeting MSS. in D. M. Webb reads *Besse* (*Fells*, p. 430), but this MS. is quite clear.

[64] Elizabeth Rogers appears in Besse's list of Friends "convicted for Banishment" in 1663, 1664 (*Suff.* ii. 638). She was, perhaps, the same as Elizabeth, wife of William Rogers, of Bristol.

[65] Susannah Pearson, the elder, is mentioned by Besse, under years 1664 and 1670 (*Suff.* i. 53, ii. 638).

[66] Barbara Blaugden (-c. 1691), lived in Bristol. She is described as "widow" in 1683 (*Suff* i. 68). She travelled extensively in the ministry and suffered heavily in body and estate. In 1655, she was in Ireland twice, on the latter occasion barely escaping death by drowning (*ibid.* ii. 458-461).

[67] Mary Morgan has not been identified.

[68] Elizabeth Pyott was, perhaps, the wife of Edward Pyott. See Camb. *Jnl.* ii. 384.

[69] Several Friends named Anne Jones lived around Bristol City.

[70] Probably, Jane, wife of Francis Rogers, of Bristol.

[71] Elizabeth Milner, widow, of Castle Precincts, Bristol, died in 1690.

[72] Elizabeth *Shewar*, not identified—clearly so written. The Bristol Burial Registers contain the names *Sheward, Shea,* and *Shore.*

[73] Perhaps, Mary Wastfield, who married John Hartnel (Hurtnell), of Bristol, in 1675, and died in the following year. Maria Webb's reading of this name—Mary *Wakefield*—(*Fells*, p. 430) has caused much confusion.

[74] Joyce Warren, not identified.

[75] Perhaps, Ann, wife of Thomas Speed, formerly Yeamans (cp. Camb. *Jnl.* i. 461, 464).

[76] Sarah Moone was, probably, the wife of John Moone.

[77] Mary North, of Bristol, was one of the many Friends "convicted in order to Banishment" in 1663 and 1664 (*Suff.* ii. 638). She was probably the wife of Thomas North.

[78] Magdalen Love was the wife of John Love, of Bristol. She died in 1680.

[79] Besse mentions a *Hannah* Jordan, widow, in 1682 and 1683, in Bristol (*Suff.* i. 64, 69, ii. 638). *Anna* Jordan died in 1700. She *may* have been the wife of Nicholas Jordan.

[80] Joan Dixon, widow, of Bristol, was fined in 1683 for non-attendance at church (*Suff.* i. 69, cp. ii. 637). She was probably the wife of Miles Dixon.

[81] The Bristol Burial Registers record the burial of Mary, wife of William Ford, of Keynsham, 1685, and also of Mary, wife of John Ford, of Bristol, 1703. The name *Foord*, with variants *Foorde, Foard*, also appears.

[82] *Hannah* Callowhill, wife of Thomas Callowhill and her daughter Hannah, later *Penn*, are both mentioned in Camb. *Jnl.*

[83] Lydia Jordan (-1685) was the wife of Thomas Jordan, of Bristol.

[84] Ann Gannicliff (Gunnicliffe) is described on the Bristol Burial Registers as "An Antient Friend"—died 1673. In 1655, she had accompanied Sarah Goldsmith on her peregrinations through Bristol "clad in a Garment of Sackcloth, reaching to the Ground, with her Head uncovered, and Earth or Ashes laid thereon and her Hair hanging down about her . . . as a Sign against Pride" (*Suff.* i. 41). Both women were committed to Bridewell.

[85] Jane Batho was one of the Bristol Friends sentenced to banishment in 1664. At her death in 1673 she was described as "wife of John."

[86] Elizabeth Dowell, widow, is mentioned by Besse in 1683. She was probably widow of John Dowell, Senr., who died in 1676.

[87] The Bristol Registers contain the record of the death of Susannah Freeman, of Trinity Parish, in 1688.

[88] Besse mentions a Rebecca *Jenkins*, of Bristol (*Suff.* ii. 637). There was a family of the name *Jenings* residing in Bristol, but a Rebecca has not been found on the Registers.

[89] Susannah Pearson, Junior, is recorded by Besse (*Suff.* ii. 637). The name "Susanna Peirson, Junior, of Worcester" appears among "Dispersers of Quakers' Books," see *Extracts from State Papers*, p. 228.

[90] Mary Baldwin, wife of William Baldwin, of Bristol, died in 1675.

[91] *Sarah* Godby has not been identified, There were several Friends named Godby or Gotby in Bristol, among them a *Susanna*.

[92] "Ellioner Maid, An Antient Friend," died in Bristol in 1674. (Bristol Registers.)

[93] Rebecca Howell, of Bristol, appears in *Besse*, in 1663 and 1664 (ii. 637).

[94] According to the Bristol Registers, Deborah Pyott married John Wither, of Bristol, in 1666, the latter dying later in the same year. In 1676, Deborah Wither married George Hawes.

[95] Sarah Cann, spinster, was fined £60 for three months' absence from the National Worship, in 1683 (*Suff.* i. 68). Her death took place in 1711.

[96] *Frances* Maynard is not known. There were Friends of this surname living in Bristol at this time.

[97] Ruth Marsh, wife of Richard Marsh, died at Limehouse, London, in 1684. See *F.Q.E.* 1907, p. 481.

[98] See THE JOURNAL, vi. 162.

VIII., IX.

GEORGE FOX TO MARGARET FOX, 1669.

JOHN ROUS TO MARGARET FOX, 1669.

These two letters appear in modernized form in *Fells*, pp. 256-260.

The second letter contains important information of the attitude of several members of the family towards the recently accomplished marriage of Margaret Fell with G. Fox—"brother and sister Fell" and "uncle Richardson" are mentioned.

Both letters are written on one folio leaf. The address is: "To Rachel ffell for M.ff this at Swarthmore. To be left with John Higgins in Lancaster," and the leaf is endorsed by John Abraham: "my Honourd Grand ffather ffox's Letter to my Honourd Grand Mother, together with one from uncle Rous both writt by uncle Rous 1669." They are dated from Enfeild, 23rd and 25th of Tenth Month, 1669, respectively.

X.

The Will of George Fell, 1670.

This Will has been printed *in extenso* in The Journal, viii. 2.

The copy among Thirnbeck MSS. is ancient. It is endorsed: "A Coppy Georg ffells Esq. Will."

XI.

John Rous to Margaret Fox, 1672.

After referring to an item or two regarding money matters, the writer goes into full particulars of a murder recently taken place in Holland. It has been said that George Fox shews little sign of being interested in the happenings around him—the same cannot be said of his wife, although it is not evident why this recital should have been sent her by her son-in-law.

Dear Mother

J rec^{d} thine yesterday & doe pretty much strange how y^{t} mistake happened about y^{e} mony, but since further advising wth Thomas Yoakley[99] J find the busines is as thou writes, thy bill drawne on Thomas Yoakley payable to Thomas Green[99] for 50^{li} is paid, & had been paid sooner if thou had required it; J have spoken with Thomas Yoakley about the 150^{li} behind on the bond, & we have concluded to pay it at the time called Michaelmas being my sisters occasions require it, but it would have stood much more with my Conveniencie y^{t} it had all been p^{d} at y^{e} end of 3 months as J expected; here is very strange news from holland, w^{ch} thou may see at Large in the Gazet, but least thou should not meet with it, J may give thee a short acc^{t} therof the 20th instant their stile, Cornelius de wit for suspition of having a designe to murther the Prince of Orange was banished the province of holland on paine of death, & his Brother y^{e} pentionarie John de wit going to see him & being in the prison, vpon some disatisfaction among the burgers & common people they forced the prison doores open, some fired on y^{m} & some runne y^{m} & being

[99] For Thomas Yoakley and Thomas Green, see Camb. *Jnl.*

dead trampled on y^m^, haled y^m^ to y^e^ gallowes where they stript y^m^ starke naked cut of their fingers & toes & flesh of their bodies & sold them at severall prizes, w^ch^ many bought vntill neer their whole bodies were Consumed, & this was done in the face of the Burgers & Magistrates at y^e^ Hague & noe body asked why they did soe, J hear y^e^ commonality threaten in divers places if their Magistrates will not agree to their tearmes, they will deale with y^m^ as w^th^ the de wits[100]: J desire my sister Sarah will let Robin Crookes mother know y^t^ he was well when y^e^ last ships came away. my wife with our little [ones] were well yesterday, my very dear love is remembred to thy selfe my brother Lower & sisters J rest

Thy dear son JOHN ROUS.

London y^e^ 24^th^ of y^e^ $\frac{6th}{moth}$ 1672.

The half sheet on which this letter is written is much worn at the folds and barely holds together. It is directed: "ffor Sarah ffell this at Swarthmore. To be left w^th^ John Higgins at Lancaster," and endorsed by G. Fox: "j: r: to m ff of the dvich defirying ther magrastats," and by John Abraham: "D^r^ Uncle Rouse Letter to my D^r^ & Honor^d^ Grand Mother In 1672."

XII.

ROBERT BARCLAY TO THE FELL SISTERS, 1676.

This letter (written from Aberdeen Prison, 27, x. 1676), and the copies of letters from the Princess Elizabeth and from the Countess of Horne added to it, are to be found in *Fells*, pp. 301-306.

The writing occupies three pages of quarto letter paper. The sheet is endorsed by J. Abraham: "The Excellent Rob^t^ Bartley Letter to three of my Aunts and to my Dear and Tender Mother."—Isabel, Sarah, Susanna, and Rachel (afterwards Abraham).

To be continued.

[100] The horrible murder of the brothers Cornelius and John de Wit is narrated at large in histories of the period. See, *e.g.*, Barker's *Rise and Decline of the Netherlands*, 1906; *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. v. chap. vii., 1908; also woven into a novel, *I Will Maintain*, by Marjorie Bowen, 1911.

Elisha Tyson, Philanthropist and Emancipator (c. 1749-1824).

Although George Fox and the early Friends seem to have fully recognized "the negroes as equal objects of our Heavenly Father's regard with themselves," acknowledged their right to liberty, and advised their liberation at some stated time, still, strange to say, many of our American Friends were, or became, slave holders—a sad blot on the otherwise fair pages of our Quaker history.

The first attempt to liberate a slave of which we have knowledge was made in one of our southern Meetings.

1684. "William Dixon having a mind to sell a negro his freedom, desires this Meeting's advice. This Meeting refers him to the Yearly Meeting for advice." (Third Haven Monthly Meeting.)

At this time, what is now Baltimore Yearly Meeting was held alternately at Third Haven, on the Eastern Shore, and at West River, in the "tenting field" on the Western shore of the Chesapeake bay, and our little handful of Friends were in the midst of a slave-holding community, with the law of the State prohibiting the manumission of slaves. It was a brave proposition to make, and doubtless the Yearly Meeting hesitated about putting itself on record at this time in regard to any such action; indeed, even later it was slow to act, and it was almost 100 years (1772) before it recommends that its subordinate Meetings "keep under the weight of a concern that had arisen in the Society some time ago in regard to members holding slaves"; and in

1826 "deliberated on the subject with much earnestness of concern, but that way does not open to recommend any specific movement at present except that of continuing it on the minutes for further consideration next year." However, in

1840 "they bear a faithful testimony against slavery," etc.

Meantime individuals had not been idle, and the vigorous protest made by our German Friends of Phila-

delphia in 1688 bore fruit. It was a descendant of one of these, Elisha Tyson, who on his removal to Baltimore, about 1780, took up the work that was continued throughout his life, among the colored people of the State. Those who were inhumanly treated by their owners found in him a friend who ever endeavored to mitigate their sufferings, and for those illegally held in bondage he used every effort to procure release.

In 1789, the Maryland Society for the Abolition of Slavery was formed at the suggestion of Joseph Townsend. Of it many of the more influential citizens of Baltimore were members, and Granville Sharp, the English philanthropist, at his request, became a corresponding member. Elisha Tyson was a member—the chief member—of its "acting committee." During the seven years of the existence of the society, its great work, besides educating public opinion, was the repeal of the law forbidding masters to manumit slaves, which after years of effort was accomplished in 1796. Two years later the Abolition Society was dissolved, and Elisha Tyson continued the work alone—the support he doubtless had of many Friends, and individuals of other denominations, but the great burden of the work was his. It is said that he was instrumental in giving liberty to 2,000 slaves, many of whom were illegally held in bondage. In some cases, alone and unarmed, he made his way to the vile dungeons where slaves were confined, guarded by desperate men. "Shoot if thee dare," was his answer when a cocked pistol was aimed at his heart, "but thee dare not, coward as thou art, for well does thee know that the gallows would be thy portion."

One of the last acts of his life was the rescue and liberation of eleven Africans, who had been kidnapped on the African coast, and were held on board a Colombian privateer calling at Baltimore for supplies. The President at this time was appealed to, and after much effort the Africans were liberated. They desired to return to Africa, and the agent of the Colonization Society came and took charge of them. It was a society of which Elisha Tyson had never fully approved, and he anxiously awaited news of their arrival in Africa. He was seriously ill at the time. "If I could only hear of their safe arrival I

should die content," he said, and again, "that he had prayed to the Father of Mercies that He would be pleased to spare his life till he could receive the intelligence." The news of their restoration to their families in Africa at last reached him, and shedding tears of joy he exclaimed, "Now I am ready to die. My work is done." Two days later, on February 16th, 1824, aged seventy-five years, this great and good man passed away from many works to rewards.

Probably the last one of the Africans liberated by Elisha Tyson died at the "Shelter for Infirm and Aged Colored People," in 1890. A six months voyage had brought a vessel to our coast after 1808, when the lawful slave trade was abolished, and this gave Elisha Tyson the legal opportunity necessary for the release of a kidnapped child. It is said that he never went beyond the law in his efforts to procure liberty for the negroes. In her old age, Mary Wilson, as she was called, would tell of her memory of her African home, "a house and yard *swept clean*, but no upstairs and no bed," and of the short struggle on the sands when she, a little girl, was torn from her mother's arms, and of the latter's wild grief.

There are many interesting anecdotes preserved of the philanthropist, but no adequate biography of his life has been written.[1]

Through his efforts the first African Church in this city was established, and, it being near his home, when their meetings became noisy, as was sometimes their wont, he would seize his hat and cane, and "stride into their midst, and rapping them to silence, ask if they expected to take Heaven by storm." If this did not answer, he would not hesitate to put out the candles and drive them home!

He is said to have been a large and powerful man, and once when assaulted by a bully did not return the blow, but grasped his assailant and "held him *so uneasy*" that when he was released he was quite willing to be civil.

Shortly before his death he caused to be announced

[1] In 1825, a small volume appeared in Baltimore, entitled, *Life of Elisha Tyson, the Philanthropist*, written by John S. Tyson, a nephew of Elisha Tyson, with portrait. A copy is in D., presented by Lucy Tyson Fitzhugh, Westminster, Md.

his desire to meet the colored men of the city. At the appointed time a great audience greeted him with every mark of reverence and affection. He began by saying, "I am now old and weak, in a few days I shall be gathered to my fathers—the great portion of this audience will perhaps never see my face again. I know not who will befriend you after I am gone, unless you become friends to one another."

He then proposed that they form a society, and raise and deposit money for necessary emancipation work in future, in the hands of certain white persons, named by him, in whom they could have the utmost confidence.

He also left behind him a "Farewell Address to the People of Colour in the United States of America."[2] It was written a few days before his death, and read afterward in the African churches of this city, and also generally in their churches throughout the United States.

The day of his funeral the colored people of the city endeavoured to show their love and gratitude by attending his funeral in a body. To the number of more than 10,000, they met in their various churches and the immense dusky throng followed the funeral procession on foot to the grave in the Friends' Burying Ground at Aisquith Street.

But great as was the work of Elisha Tyson among the colored people, he had time also for other good works. He was much interested in the American Indians, and in 1801 was one of the two Friends appointed by the Yearly Meeting to make the fourth visit to the Indians northwest of the Ohio river, but the account of this long journey is too full of interest to come within the limits of this paper.

His interest in the Indians had brought to his knowledge the ill effects of intoxicating liquors, and with them he would have nothing to do. They were not even allowed storage room in his warehouses. This was his practical protest against one of the evils of the day.

As a "merchant miller" he had become a wealthy man, but he lived simply, despising ostentation either in dress or furniture. He was "a progressive and leading

[2] Copy in D.

citizen, and used his wealth with liberality and public spirit." Anyone looking into the eagle face of the fine old lithograph that hangs in the Swarthmore Library can readily believe that "he possessed wonderful strength of understanding, quickness of perception and readiness of reply," and that

"Wherever wrong did right deny,
Or suffering spirits urge their plea,
His was the voice to smite the lie,
The hand to set the captive free."

WHITTIER, *Garrison*, slightly altered.

ELLA K. BARNARD.

Baltimore, Md.

American Friends in Dunkirk.

Paris, Oct. 23. Letters from Dunkirk announce the almost immediate arrival of fourteen vessels from North America, having on board one hundred Quakers and Baptist families. These good people mean to settle in Dunkirk, where they are to be established in the possession of every liberty of conscience; they will experience in Flanders all the protection and encouragement due to the pacific disposition of their sect and the meakness of their manners. This asylum was pointed out to them by M. de Calonne, the chancellor of the Exchequer; he thought it the properest place on account of its contiguity to England, and the similarity of the inhabitants manners to those of their British neighbours. It is a pity that these honest Americans come amongst us to witness our vices, and perhaps to catch the dangerous contagion. Their chief trade will consist in the whale fishery in the Northern seas.[1]

Newscutting in D., dated 1786.

[1] Numerous references to this immigration are in D., mostly connected with the Rotch family of Nantucket Island. See life of William Rotch, 1734-1828, by Augustine Jones, 1901.

Art thou shapely, comely, beautiful—the exact draught of a human creature? Admire that Power that made thee so. Let the beauty of thy body teach thee to beautify thy mind with holiness, the ornament of the beloved of God.

Art thou homely or deformed? Magnify that goodness that did not make thee a beast; and with the grace that is given unto thee, for it has appeared unto all, learn to adorn thy soul with enduring beauty.

WILLIAM PENN, *No Cross, No Crown*, pt. i., chap. xi., sect x.

Journal Supplement No. 9.

"Extracts from State Papers relating to Friends," second series, 1658 to 1664 (transcribed from the original MSS. by Charlotte Fell Smith, and edited by Norman Penney, F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S.), pp. 105 to 200 and Index.

It was a happy thought of the Editor's to give these authentic notices of the doings and sufferings of the first Friends, as written down by themselves and others in contemporary documents now at the Record Office. This series will form a valuable addition to the printed material before readers who are not specialists in the period. It ought also to be of great use to students of local history and biography in many districts, if only for the lists of well-affected persons recommended for the magistracy, and for the notices of men, otherwise unknown, who opposed the movement. But to most of us the wealth of incident will appeal more strongly: the graphic accounts of Reading gaol and the struggles in Bristol "Tolzy"; the hard cases of army and navy men convinced of the sinfulness of war; and the ludicrous bewilderment of Cumberland justices at "such suspicious expressions" as the monthly meeting and a collection "for our owen county seruis." Here and there we light upon curious tributes to the life and character of the maligned Quaker, such as Lord Langdale's honest letter. Indeed, in the first years of Charles II., the cloud almost seems as if it might lift; but the storm begins again in the summer of 1663, and we are hurried onward to the central interest of the story, in the imprisonment of George Fox and Margaret Fell. It is, of course, not intended in this series to elucidate the extracts with comment on the history of the time; and yet, without more than is here given, this painful episode can never be fairly understood. From page 171 to the end of this part one must read between the lines, and supply the story of the Kaber Rigg plot, which, unsuccessful as it proved, was the real reason for the persecution of Swarthmoor. The avowed object of the plot was to do away with taxes

and to restore a Gospel magistracy and ministry. Atkinson, the spy, and the prisoners taken after the rising (autumn 1663), informed Sir Philip Musgrave that the Quakers were concerned. Some, disowned by the Society, seem really to have taken part.[1] But Friends had refused tithes and the oath of allegiance ; they had made recommendations for the magistracy. The "evidence" was against them. What is the value of legal evidence is another matter, but no protests satisfied local authorities so long as the meetings were held. The extract given on page 200 can be amplified from papers in private possession showing the widespread and acute fear of further risings. In the thick of the trouble (January, 1663-4) came Mrs. Fell's letter (p. 187)—an important chapter in the story. Of Col. Kirkby we know that he showed personal friendliness to Mrs. Fell, both before and after her imprisonment. Daniel Fleming was the most intelligent man in the district ; that he acted as he did is only a proof of the far-reaching mischief of the Kaber Rigg plot. We owe much to such publications as these Extracts for their help in clearing up the facts of that tragic misunderstanding.

W. G. COLLINGWOOD.

Coniston, Lancs.

A counterfeit is rather an evidence of a reality than a solid argument against it.—JOB SCOTT, *Selections*, 1911, p. 107.

[1] On this subject we may quote from Nightingale's *Ejected of 1662 in Cumberland & Westmorland*, 1911, vol. i., p. 125, "Whether there is any truth in the charge that the Quakers were involved in the rumoured plots and risings, of which the times produced such a plentiful crop, is not certain. Probably some of the reports were fictions, and others grossly exaggerated ; but it is difficult to account for them all except on the ground of complicity on the part of some. 'Apparently, at the time of the plot,' says Chancellor Ferguson (*History of Westmorland*, p. 223), 'the local justices included under the name of "Quaker" every dissentient from their own religion except Papists. Westmorland was also full of Quakers who had been disowned by, or who had seceded from the Society of Friends, for in those days of religious excitement men roamed rapidly from one form of religion to another.' It is not, however, necessary to resort even to such an explanation. There must have been some bearing this name, men made wild and reckless by ceaseless persecution, whose thoughts turned for a remedy in those directions ; and a few such would be quite sufficient in the popular judgment, especially in the excited state of the times, to involve the whole in suspicion." [ED.]

Friends in Current Literature.

A valuable gallery of portraits has been presented to the reading world by the Clarendon Press, Oxford, in the handsome quarto volume, *Historical Portraits, 1600-1700*, just issued, price half-a-guinea net (portraits only, 6s. net). Of the 131 persons pictured here, there are about thirty more or less associated with Friends, but only one Friend—George Fox. The Lely portrait is reproduced. Forty-three lines are given to a generally favourable review of Fox. The following remarkable sentence appears, however :—"The society grew steadily, and the complete silence observed at its gatherings rendered it comparatively immune from the repressive legislation against preaching nonconformity." The exact opposite is the historical fact—as witness, *inter alia*, a contemporary statement, "The Anabaptists held out long, as to more publick appearings, & the Quakers held their ground to y^e^ last and have smarted more then any" ("Extracts from State Papers," p. 169), and the many heavy fines exacted for preaching. One of the compilers of this book received some assistance at Devonshire House, as regards the portrait, but the Librarian is not responsible for any of the reading-matter!

The contributions of Joseph Ward to the "Oldham Weekly Chronicle" on Friends in Oldham have been collected into a volume—*A Retrospect of the Oldham Meeting of the Society of Friends, Its Schools and Kindred Societies* (Oldham : Hirst, 7⅞ by 5, pp. 182, 3s. 6d. and 2s. 6d.). There is an Introduction by Elizabeth B. Emmott ; there are portraits of James and Henry L. Hargraves, Jacob Bright, and several members of the Emmott family, and other illustrations. The author is not a Friend, but writes in a Friendly spirit. To my mind, the book loses by having as frontispiece a reproduction of Robert Spence's "George Fox at Lichfield," and the author errs in thinking that there were other "impulses" of Fox of a similar character (p. 9).

William Penn and John Toland.—To the Editor of *The Nation*
Sir :. One of William Penn's indirect contributions to the advance of liberal thinking seems not to have been noticed by any of his biographers. In 1705 John Toland, whose "Christianity Not Mysterious" had appeared nine years before, and who had since been the object of much consequent abuse for the freedom of his opinions, was in unpleasant pecuniary straits. During the preceding year, Shaftesbury, then exile for economy's sake in Holland, had failed to pay Toland the customary instalment of his pension. Toland, in some way or other, had formed the acquaintance of William Penn, and there is extant a letter which he wrote to the Quaker on June 26, 1705 (see Toland's "Miscellaneous Works," 1747, vol. ii., p. 337), asking for a recommendation to the lord treasurer, Godolphin. Penn, however, made his appeal to Harley instead, to whom he sent on August 24 another letter from Toland,

with the suggestion that the Deist had been "kept too long upon expectations" (Hist. MSS. Com., Portland, Vol. IV., p. 230). The result of this was the almost immediate engagement of Toland to write "The Memorial of the State of England," and his long—though always somewhat precarious—attachment to Harley's service.

Toland was again in touch with Penn two years later (Hist. MSS. Com., Portland, Vol. VIII., p. 279), although there is no evidence that their relations were ever in any way close.—CARL VAN DOREN, Columbia University, New York, December 8th.—*The Nation*, Dec. 14th, 1911.

In *Forty Years of Friendship as Recorded in the Correspondence of John Duke, Lord Coleridge and Ellis Yarnall, during the Years 1856 to 1895*, the Editor, Charlton Yarnall, writes thus of his father:—

"Ellis Yarnall was born in Philadelphia on June 25, 1817, and died in the same city on September 19, 1905. His life, therefore, exceeded by almost a generation the scriptural period allotted to mankind. His ancestry was of old English families, his father and mother being members of the Society of Friends. He was, therefore, educated in that faith, and although his religious convictions led him in early manhood to enter the Episcopal Church, he retained through life a great respect for the Society, whose philosophy left strong marks upon his character.

"In a fragment of autobiography found among his papers, Mr. Yarnall says: 'My grandfather, Ellis Yarnall, was born in 1757. His grandfather, Phillip, came over about 1684 with his brother Francis, from Claines, Worcestershire, as a part of the Penn Colony of immigrants. Both brothers were Friends. My grandfather was of devout life from his earliest years; his brother, Eli Yarnall, was a minister in the Society, and was held in reverent regard always. I recall as a boy, the some thing almost of emotion, with which his name was mentioned by the elders of my family. My grandfather seemed to me, from my earliest knowledge of him, in such absolute fellowship with the Society of Friends that there was little room in his mind for the presentation of belief of any other religious body. I bethought me of the Dominicans and Franciscans as I looked at his bowed head and noted the gravity of his demeanor.'"

In the same volume (London: Macmillan, 9 by 5¾, pp. 340), there are some allusions, by Lord Coleridge, not entirely favourable, to the poetry of J. G. Whittier (p. 103). Ellis Yarnall wrote in January, 1881, of the death of his "dear aunt, Mrs. Lucretia Mott" (p. 190), and of a visit from James Hack Tuke (p. 191).

A valuable contribution to local historical literature has recently been made by Benjamin Nightingale, M.A., Congregational Minister, of Preston, Lancs., in his *The Ejected of 1662 in Cumberland & Westmorland. Their Predecessors and Successors* (Manchester: University Press, 2 vols., 9 by 5½, pp. xxiv. + 1490, 28s. net). After three preliminary chapters—Brief Summary of the Period, The Area in Question, and The Men and Their Story—the author takes up *seriatim* the various places from the churches of which the Incumbents who could not conform to the new ecclesiastical enactments of the Restoration were ejected, and gives many new facts relating to these noble nonconformists. Of Quaker literature we read (p. xxiv.):—

"A rich storehouse of material will be found in the Quaker literature of the time, even when the student is not dealing directly with the Quaker movement. Fox's 'Journal,' Story's 'Life,' Besse's 'Sufferings of the Quakers,' Sewel's 'History of the Quakers,' Smith's 'Bibliotheca Anti-Quakeriana,' 'The First Publishers of Truth,' Ferguson's 'Early Friends,' with many other minor works, have been in constant requisition. With reference to Besse and others, one has sometimes been a little disquieted by serious date errors, but in other respects we may take them all generally trustworthy."

Chapter II. concludes with a brief account of the Quaker movement as it relates to this district (pp. 118-129). Of the persecutions which fell upon Friends it is said :—

"The Quakers themselves were responsible for much of this. It was not merely that they indulged in certain harmless eccentricities . . . but that they outraged the common decencies of life. Their practice of going through the streets naked as a 'sign' was an unpardonable exaggeration. . . . The only excuse for all this lies in the fact that in their wildest deeds, and most senseless vagaries, they acted from highest motives."

There is a very full Index, which contains sixty-two entries under "Quakers."

Mr. Nightingale did not come into touch with Friends' Reference Library until after his book was published.

The result of much close work in the Library at Devonshire House on the part of a German student some years ago has now been given to the world in *Sozialpolitik der Nachstenliebe dargestellt am Beispiel der "Gesellschaft der Freunde,"* by Dietrich von Dobbeler. The title may perhaps be Englished thus—"The Social Economics of Philanthropy as illustrated by the Example of the Society of Friends." With commendable industry, Herr von Dobbeler has worked out the story of numerous Quaker philanthropies of a public and private character, and has produced a very readable and useful volume. The first portion narrates the rise of Friends and their principles, and then follow descriptions of Friends' work on behalf of the poor, education, slavery and slave trade, prison reform, home and foreign missions, insane, temperance, and other modern philanthropies. We read of John Bellers's proposed College of Industry, of the Spitalfields Soup Society, of Friends' Boarding Schools, Adult Schools, the Bedford Institute, Friends' Social Union, and many other activities.

But this valuable work is greatly marred by the many mistakes in names, of which it is full, for want of careful examination in proof by some English Friend, *e.g.*, *fierns* for *friends*, *Clyton* for *Ayton*, Benjamin *Flamder* for *Flounders*, *Perkni* for *Perkins*, *Rowntra* and *Recontree* for *Rowntree*, *Yarnak* for *Yarnall*.

The production of a book of this kind is an interesting sign of the times.

Champlin Burrage, who came over from U.S.A. some years ago, and who spent some months in research in the Reference Library, has brought

out a valuable work—*The Early English Dissenters in the Light of Recent Research (1550-1641)*, (Cambridge: University Press, 2 vols., 8¾ by 5½, pp. xx. + 379 and xvi. + 353, 20s. net). Though dealing with a period antecedent to Quakerism, there are a few slight references to Friends. The author mentions Robert Barclay's "Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth," as "an admirable volume," manifesting "wide and critical reading on the part of the author" (pp. 13, 14).

A. A. Seaton, M.A., Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge, was one of two writers to whom was awarded the Prince Consort Prize in 1910. His essay is entitled *The Theory of Toleration under the Later Stuarts* (Cambridge: University Press, 7½ by 5, pp. viii. + 364, 6s.). In the course of his lucid treatment of the subject of Toleration, the essayist deals fully with William Penn's "Great Case of Liberty of Conscience," 1671, "the completest exposition of the theory of toleration in our present period" (pp. 172-176) and he also epitomizes Penn's "England's Present Interest," 1675, "Address to Protestants," 1679, and "Good Advice," 1687. On page 64 we read:—

"The Quaker movement originated as a reaction from the narrow dogmatism and discipline of the Solemn League and Covenant, and, like most violent reactions, it tended to discredit itself (and, unfortunately in this case, also the cause of toleration for which it pleaded) by the extravagances with which it was associated."

In a footnote to above, the writer gives a Presbyterian description of Quakers, presumably, quoted in Tulloch's "Rational Theology and Christian Philosophy," from two tracts, dated 1647-1648; but there were no Quakers at that time to be described!

The Index is preceded by the words, "An asterisk marks the principal reference to a subject: references of minor importance are bracketed"; but what about the many references which have neither "asterisk" nor "bracket"?!

Chapter iv. of the eighth volume of *The Cambridge History of English Literature* (Cambridge: University Press, 9¼ by 6½, pp. 515, 9s. net), is entitled "The Early Quakers." In fourteen pages Edward Grubb surveys the field of early Quaker literature. Of the Journals he writes, "Though written without pretensions to literary art, they maintain a high level of sincere and often naïve self-portraiture, and the best of them contain a rich store of material for the student of the 'varieties of religious experience.'" The early writers introduced include Fox, Ellwood, Gratton, John Roberts, Penn, Penington, Nayler, Barclay, and Mary Mollineux. Of this literature in general, E. Grubb writes:

"Of this vast output, there is not much that could possibly, by its intrinsic qualities, find any permanent place in English literature; its chief interest now is for the curious student of religious history. Nor can it be said to have influenced in any appreciable degree the intellectual outlook of English-speaking peoples, except in so far as it was one of the unnoticed factors in the evolution of religious thought from the hard

dogmatism of Puritan days to a more liberal and ethical interpretation of Christianity."

Of George Fox's autobiography we read, "It is one which, for originality, spontaneity and unconscious power of sincere self-expression, is probably without a rival in religious literature."

Several new works of fiction have recently made their appearance. A copy of *The Quaker Cross*, by Cornelia Mitchell Parsons, has been presented to D. by David S. Taber, of New York. This story I read on the the Atlantic, amid heavy seas and strong winds, and in some small measure it compensated me for the disappointment of not being able to visit Long Island. The principal scene relates to the old home of John and Hannah Bowne, at Flushing, L.I., but the reader is introduced to Friends and Friendly people in Swarthmoor Hall, Lancaster Castle, London, Germany, etc. Interest in the narrative is well sustained first to last, but the sudden introduction of original material without fitting it into its surroundings is curious, *e.g.*, several letters from Maria Webb's *Fells of Swarthmoor Hall* are inserted bodily without explanation of the numerous names occurring in them, see pp. 87, 90, 91, 157, 161, 163. These letters were certainly not written on "parchment" as is frequently stated (pp. 64, 90). A little more care to verify names and facts would have prevented blemishes which damage the book—George Fox's mother was *not* a descendant of Anne Askew (p. 31) nor indeed was his wife; *Lancaster* should be *Launceston* (p. 75), *Oldham* should be *Aldam* (p. 76); *five* Friends were put to death in New England, *William Dobson*, William Robinson, Marmaduke *Stevens*[on], Mary Dyer and William *Ledd*[r]*a* (p. 112)—who was William Dobson?; the scene in Lancaster Castle when G. Fox and M. Fell in separate cells talk and read to one another seems very unnatural and unlikely (p. 155); these two friends were *not* married on "the second day of August" (p. 179), Fox did *not* arrive in Bristol from America "on the 4th of March" (p. 194), and did *not* die in 1692 (p. 326). We are told (p. 324) that "James of York did pass the Toleration Act"!

Another item of Quaker romance is *Quaker Ben: A Tale of Colonial Pennsylvania in the Days of Thomas Penn* (Philadelphia: Jacobs, 8¼ by 5½, pp. 336, $1.35 net). The Author, Henry C. McCook, writes in the Preface:

"The period of the administration of Thomas Penn (1737-1742) in the Colony founded by his distinguished father, was one of great historic interest. The infamous 'Indian Walk' which led to the cruel and criminal expulsion of the Delaware Indians by their warlike conquerors and masters, the Iroquois, at the instigation of Thomas Penn, was an incident that led to serious consequences. The attack by Great Britain on the Spanish Main in the unfortunate Cartagena campaign . . . was another incident that sorely vexed the peace-loving spirit of the Friends. . . . The outbreak of the yellow fever in Philadelphia was a third occurrence of the period. . . . "

Quaker Ben, *alias* Ben-Thee, was a frontiersman of Quaker upbringing, but not entirely Quaker principles. The book is well written and betrays considerable knowledge of Friends, especially in connection

with their varying views on defensive warfare. The spiritual experience of one character is modelled after that of Stephen Grellet. In one slight particular the Quaker language has been overdone—"May Heaven bless *thee both*, my children" (p. 269)..

The latest novel by Joseph Hocking is *God and Mammon* (London: Ward, Lock & Co., 7¾ by 5¼, pp. 314, 6s.). The title aptly describes the contending claims of goodness and greatness. A young Cornish Quaker, George Tremain, fired with the absorbing desire to make his mark, quits his quiet Quaker home for the world of finance in London. In time he becomes a money-king, but it is at the expense of real happiness, and the outward denial of that which once he taught, and still secretly believes in. But, of course, it all comes right in the end.

A great financier to whom George was introduced soliloquised thus (pp. 120-123):

"It's a dog's life. I work harder than a galley slave. Why do I not give it up? I have more than enough for all my needs; I have reached the summit of my ambitions. But I can't give up . . . I am tired of the whole thing and yet it chains me fast. I have become a money-making machine, and the machine must not stop. . . . And now where am I? I have my house in Berkeley Square, and my country places, but I'm loveless and childless—and this is success."

NORMAN PENNEY.

John H. Dillingham and the Sealed Envelopes.

. . . . While still a member of New England Yearly Meeting, not unlikely while at Harvard, in 1864, John H. Dillingham [1839-1910] had gone to attend a Quarterly Meeting. Some sealed envelopes containing widely advertised literature of an unprofitable, possibly of a deleterious character, were in his pocket. As he retired to his room for the night before the meeting, probably at the home of Benjamin Howland, he found a fire blazing on the open hearth. He sat down beside it with the intention of examining the forbidden literature. As he took the envelopes in his hand a powerful sense of God's restraining grace possessed him. Without parleying long, he put the envelopes unopened upon the burning embers and had a sure sense of peace in seeing them reduced to ashes. In the meeting next morning Eli Jones was engaged in speaking most directly to his condition—drew a plain picture of the doubts that had assailed him, and then in an impressive manner pointed out the door of hope, and the service that awaited the tried soul who would give up and enter this door. In conclusion, and in a manner that brought back the glowing fire and the smoking paper to John Dillingham's mind, he said, "If thou wilt do these things all thy *burnt sacrifices* will be accepted."

John H. Dillingham, by J. Henry Bartlett, 1911, p. 121.

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THE JOURNAL

OF THE

FRIENDS' HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

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D.=The Reference Library of London Yearly Meeting, Devonshire House, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.

F.P.T.="*The First Publishers of Truth*," published by the Friends' Historical Society, 1907.

Camb. *Jnl.*=*The Journal of George Fox*, published by the Cambridge University Press, 1911.

Ell. *Jnl.*=*The Journal of George Fox*, edited by Thomas Ellwood, 1694.

Notice.

The FRIENDS' REFERENCE LIBRARY at Devonshire House contains the largest collection in the world of literature in print and manuscript relating to the Society of Friends. It was established in 1673. Many of the books and tracts may be borrowed by Friends. For conditions of loan apply to the Librarian, Devonshire House, 136, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.

Notes and Queries.

DEVONSHIRE HOUSE.—In *Under the Dome*, the magazine connected with the Bethlem Royal Hospital for the Insane, now situated in South London, the Chaplain of the Hospital, E. G. O'Donoghue, is giving a history of this institution. From 1247 to 1676 the Hospital covered, roughly, the site now occupied by Liverpool Street and Broad Street Railway Stations, and also owned a piece of land on the opposite side of Bishopsgate, facing St. Botolph's church. This latter property has been in the possession of the Hospital "since 1330 at least." It was once known as Staple Hall; it is now part of the Devonshire House premises, held by Friends on a long lease from the Bethlem Hospital.

In *Under the Dome*, for June 30th, 1911, there are useful sketches of the probable appearance of the outskirts of London as viewed from the Bishop's Gate, say, five centuries ago, and also a view of the modern entrance to Devonshire House from the street. These sketches, by permission of the artist, have been reproduced as slides to illustrate a lantern lecture on the headquarters of Friends in Great Britain.

"THE ESPOUSAL."—In 1716, Swift wrote to Pope that "a set of Quaker pastorals might succeed, if our friend Gay could fancy it," but the only outcome of this suggestion was *The Espousal: A Sober Eclogue, between two of the People called Quakers*—Caleb and Tabitha, published in Gay's *Poems*, 1720.[1] The piece commences thus:—

"Beneath the shadow of a beaver hat,
Meek Caleb at a silent meeting sate;
His eye-balls oft forgot the holy trance,
While Tabitha, demure, return'd the glance.
The meeting ended, Caleb silence broke,
And Tabitha her inward yearnings spoke."

Referring to a present of a watch, Tabitha says,

"I own. Josiah gave the golden toy,
Which did the righteous hand of Quare employ."

BRISTOL MSS. (iv. 83).—A volume of MSS. similar in style of binding to the four volumes deposited in D., and known as Bristol MSS. vols. i.-iv. is on a short loan from Bristol and Frenchay Monthly Meeting. For purpose of reference this volume will be known as Bristol MSS. vol. v.; a calendar of the MSS. is in preparation. The value for historical purposes of the longer or shorter loan to the Reference Library at Devonshire House of such materials for the study of Quakerism is again evident, in that this volume has at once yielded valuable and confirmatory information on various important subjects. See elsewhere in this number of THE JOURNAL.

[1] See Gay's *Poems*, in the Muses' Library.

WEEK-DAY MEETINGS.—What early instructions were given respecting attendance at meetings for worship on week-days?

[From 1688 downwards there are numerous encouragements to diligent attendance at week-day meetings (see index to *Epistles from the Yearly Meeting*, published in 1858). In 1692 a letter was addressed by Friends from the Second Day's Morning Meeting "to Stirr ffriends up to dilligence in Meeting together on Week day Meetings, &c." (MS. in D.).—ED.]

INCENDIARISM AMONG MANUSCRIPTS.—"On the evening of May 7th [1851] a disgraceful outrage was perpetrated at the Friends' Meeting House [Lancaster]. It appears that about seven o'clock, John Ivison, the caretaker, was assisting to get in some coals. He did not remain out very long, but on leaving he secured the doors, and the windows were right as far as he could see. The Meeting House door is fastened by a bar on the inside, and it can therefore only be entered by forcing in the panels. About nine o'clock and also about half-past ten o'clock, the porters at the Castle Station noticed a glimmering light in the Meeting House, but took no further notice of it.

"About ten minutes before twelve o'clock William Robinson, a wagon inspector, was going on duty, when he observed a light through the Meeting House windows. The police were apprised, and they found that the fire was contained in a small room over the porch, known as the 'committee-room.' On entering the room they found that the fire arose from some burning documents in the old iron chest in which they were deposited, and which had been forced open. Water was procured as soon as possible, and the flames extinguished, but not before a great portion of the papers were irretrievably destroyed."

Copied from "Fifty Years Ago," a brief record of events that have taken place in Lancaster from July, 1850, to December, 1851, extracted from the *Lancaster Guardian*.—ROBERT MUSCHAMP, Myrtle Cottage, Radcliffe.

WILLIAM AND SARAH LOGAN (ix. 87).—The following notices of these Friends occur in the minutes of Edinburgh Monthly Meeting:—

3. xi. 1768. A certificate was received from the Two Weeks Meeting in London on behalf of William Logan, Junr., "who is come to this place to study Physick." [At the same time there was read "a letter Recommendatory from Doctor Fothergill of London dated the 5th 10mo, 1768, on behalf of John Coakly Letsome a native of Tartola (who is likewise come to this place to study Physick) Certifying wherever he has been he has acquired a Just degree of Esteem."]

13. iv. 1770. "William and Sarah Logan presented their Acknowledgment to the following purpose, To Friends of the Monthly Meeting held at Edinbr the 13th of ye 4th mo. 1770. Dear Friends whereas we whose names are hereto subscribed have contrary to an Established Rule of our Society been married by a priest which erroneous Conduct we are now sincerely sorry for, and desire you would overlook

the same and forgive our Offence therein, and hope our future Conduct will recommend us to your tender Regard, we remain with much Love your affectionate Frds Wm. Logan, Sarah Logan. The same being twice read before the Meeting & Friends believing it sincere it was accepted . ."

18. x. 1770. "Certificates of Removal were signed for Wm Logan Jr & his Wife."

William F. Miller.

Charles Ormston [ix. 3].—The Friend of Newcastle so named by John Rickman in the letter quoted on page 3 of The Journal, should, without doubt, be *Robert* Ormston.

There were three Charles Ormstons, leading Friends in the South of Scotland. The first, baptised at Kelso, 18 Oct., 1625, was probably already a Friend in August, 1665, when the baptism of his tenth child was recorded in the registers of Kelso parish, the following note being added to the record: "Witnesses Walter Hey & Johne Ormstoune [probably the infant's uncle, b. 1632] who presents the child & undertakes & obliges himselfe to see to the education of the child that he be brought up in the faith which the Word of God contains and is profest in this Church." The first Charles died Twelfth Month, 1684. His son, Charles, was born in 1667 and died in 1746, and his grandson, the third Charles in succession, was born in 1692 and died in 1773; all three lived and died at Kelso.

Jonathan (b. Kelso, 1708, d. Newcastle, 1780), the younger brother of the third Charles, settled at Newcastle-on-Tyne, and it is his son, Robert (1749-1836), to whom John Rickman alludes.

William F. Miller.

[For further mention of this family see vols. i., ii., iv., vii., viii.—Ed.]

A Story of Nantucket.—In 1872, Ellis Yarnall wrote to Lord Coleridge, "I have directed the booksellers, Southeran of Tower Street, to send you a copy of a book by my sister-in-law, Miss Agnes Harrison, *Martin's Vineyard*, just published by Sampson Low & Co. I think you will see a certain merit in this volume—its clear picturing of the life of an out-of-the-way New England community hitherto much unknown. It is a pure work of the imagination, for my sister has never seen the life that she describes—that of the Island of Nantucket. She has aimed to show the good side of the Quaker character, as it is there exhibited, and although the story is very simple . . . she has well brought out the purity of life, and the earnestness of religious feeling, which are to be found among the best of the Friends." (*Forty Years of Friendship*, 1911, p. 145.) *Martin's Vineyard* is now in D.

"Batchellor Bunker, 1791."—In a recent list of second-hand books appears a copy of Robert Barclay's *Catechism*, Phila., 1783, "on the fly-leaf" of which "is the autograph signature of 'Batchellor Bunker, 1791,' the owner of the celebrated height known as Bunker's Hill, where the memorable battle was fought on June 17, 1775." Had the owner of the book any connection with Friends?

The Presidential Address.

The annual meeting of the Society was held in Manchester as arranged. In the absence of the President, Amelia Mott Gummere (wife of the Professor of English literature at Haverford College, Pa., Francis Barton Gummere, Ph.D., LL.D., Litt.D.), the chair was taken by A. Neave Brayshaw, B.A., LL.B., who introduced to the notice of a somewhat small number of Friends present, in a delightful manner, several of A. M. Gummere's contributions to literature, especially her *Quaker: a Study in Costume.*

The following presidential address was read by Norman Penney, F.S.A.

To the Friends' Historical Society of London.

The usefulness of an absentee President is open to question, when his only service is to forward a message of greeting across the ocean. But this at least affords me an opportunity to send to the Friends' Historical Society my sincere thanks and appreciation for the honour done me by my appointment, and I greatly regret my inability to be with you in person on the occasion of your Annual Meeting.

We Friends in America are following with interest the excellent work done by your Society. You have set us an example in the publications of your Journal which should serve as a stimulus to our own effort to preserve our Quaker inheritance. For it is an interesting fact that whilst our country and our institutions are new and young by comparison with your own, the history of Quakerism in America follows so closely that of England that less than a decade separates the appearance of George Fox as a preacher and the beginnings of Quakerism on the Western continent.

We are well aware of the need for preserving all of the materials for the fuller study of our Quaker institutions here in America, wherever they may be found, and no doubt exists in my mind that there will yet be discovered in private hands, and perhaps amongst persons as yet unappreciative of their importance, treasures that will be

of great value to the future historian. The Monthly Meetings of the older colonies alone contain, in hundreds of unpublished folios, a complete picture of early Quaker manners and customs. For it was the Monthly Meeting that came in direct contact with the individuals who comprised the Church organization, and the early freedom of speech, and search into personal conduct, have left on the old pages, in the curious handwriting of seventeenth and early eighteenth century clerks, vivid pictures of Quaker life, like photographic negatives which only await development. We desire also to keep before the minds of our young people the service rendered by our great Quakers; an example of this is the effort which we are making to place upon the site of his birthplace a suitable memorial to John Woolman.

The past year has been notable for the publication of the most important contributions yet made to the study of Quaker history. To name but one, the new edition of George Fox's Journal, with its wonderfully painstaking and accurate notes, is enough in itself to mark the year with a red letter. A well "extra-illustrated" copy of this great book would prove a complete picture gallery of early Quakerism.

The development of the modern historic sense has of late been well exemplified in its application to Quaker history. The old Church historian who wrote only from one point of view and only "for edification" has passed away. We note that Quaker historians and antiquarians are becoming more intelligently active, at the same time that solicitude is expressed lest Quakerism to-day be losing some of its influence in the world. One powerful cause is less recognised than it should be by modern Friends. *All* the difference does not lie in themselves or their propaganda. Modern society is no longer concerned, as was the seventeenth century, with the things of the spirit. The growth of commercialism and materialistic tendencies threatens to wreck, not only Religion, but Art as well. The province of historical study—I speak now only of this as applied to Quakerism—is to enable us to solve present problems by the application to them of the lessons of the past. The great currents of life in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries swept Quakerism

into a side eddy. Whether it moves with the tide of reaction which some of us think must eventually come, or continues to pass around in its own smaller circle, will largely depend upon the intellectual aid given to the moral forces at work at the time. To this great end, historical study will be an invaluable ally; for already the facts of our history as laid bare by recent investigation have been, in the past ten years, or even less, a large factor in changing the whole spirit of American Quakerism. We are apt over here to balk at *facts*. Some of these, unpleasant or startling, even, have been accepted, and the tonic of the effect is working into the Quaker social system, albeit slowly, and often unconsciously.

All hail, then, to the patient and well-equipped students, who, in the home of British Quakerism, are so diligently aiding in the diffusion of a better understanding of our cause. To them we look for help in the solution of difficult problems on both sides of the water.

AMELIA MOTT GUMMERE.

The Balance Sheet was read by Stanley J. Forward in the absence of the Treasurer, George Benington. For this and for the list of Officers for 1912-1913, see later pages of this issue of THE JOURNAL.

In conjunction with Eliza H. Varney, an appointed evening meeting in a Union Chapel was about to conclude. John Dillingham knelt in prayer. With much fervency he pleaded for several conditions and several classes, then as if a moment hesitating, his supplication was for "any widow whose husband may still be living." As the meeting concluded, one who sat by the Friend who had arranged the meeting turned to him somewhat sharply with the question, "Why did you tell him that?" In a moment it was evident to the interrogator that no previous knowledge of the condition thus strikingly pictured had been possessed by any of the Friends, and he confessed his amazement at the distinct leading of the Holy Spirit, in what proved in good measure to have been a healing ministration.

John H. Dillingham (1839-1910), by J. Henry Bartlett, 1912, p. 132.

Friday, Feb. 24., Mrs. Dennington, a quaker of 80 years of age at Harefield in Middlesex, was baptized and admitted a member of the church of England.

Newscutting in D., dated 1758.

Thirnbeck Manuscripts.

Continued from page 107.

XIII.

William Coddington to John Leverett, and John Leverett's Reply, 1677.

So far as we are aware, these letters have never been printed before. Joseph Smith has a reference to "A Letter to William Coddington, 1677," under "Leverat, John," in his Adverse Catalogue, p. 275. It appears, however, as though our great bibliographer had taken all he knew from George Fox's printed reply, which is titled *Something in Answer to a Letter (which I have seen) of John Leverat*, etc., in which title the words "which I have seen" might as readily apply to a written as to a printed document. It is satisfactory that Smith's unfinished entry, printed nearly forty years ago, can now be completed.

Coddington was at this time ex-governor of Rhode Island (see Camb. *Jnl.*). John Leverett was Governor of Boston, N.E. Leverett's reply seems very sane and sensible.

John Leveret Governour ffriend

For J am thy ffriend & was thy fathers ffriend J am about 14 yeares elder then thou, And thou hast said to me y^t^ thou would not forsake thy ffriend & thy fathers ffriend (that is) thou would never psecute none of my ffriends; yet notwithstanding Roger Williams[101] of Providence hath writt a most slanderous lying book, & it is by thee patronized; ffor rather then it should not be printed, thou would give 25^lbs^ to it, and did give 5^lbs^, & procured others to give & undertook for y^e^ pay (as it is reported) which was hiring of him to slander y^e^ Colonies & his neighbours, causing him to correct what concerned your selves that you disliked (as is said) but had

[101] For Roger Williams and his book, *George Fox Digg'd out of his Burrowes*, 1676, see Camb. *Jnl.*, ii. 438. It is interesting to note here how literature was financed for the printer.

no regard to others ; ffor in his very title page he lies, in wch he speakes of 14 proposalls made in *1672* to George Fox then present on Road-Jsland and backs it with another lie that he sillily[102] departed ye dispute, whereas he was never present at it, and his proposalls came not to John Cranston's[103] hand to whom he sent them, before he was departed this Jsland, as by him & divers others may be proved, if his book was not a bundle of lies, what likelyhood of Truth is there in it ? ffor G. F. was about 3 months in this Jurisdiction on this Jsland and at Providence where he preached & at Naraghansett where J (& divers others) was with him, he being willing to declare ye everlasting Gospell to ye Jndians. And all his 14 proposalls are all lyes as hath ben manifested on this Jsland at ye three dayes dispute on this Jsland, & one day at Providence, there was many present, but none found that would own his proposalls they were so gross, the first day was spent to try who was willing but none found : so yt many spake and not to them as was desired. The second day wch he calls Willm Edmonson's preaching folio 263 was his answering to his 7 proposalls, & a declaration of his faith with such power & Zeale that many of ye opposers came out of ye house, And John Cranston being then Deptie Governour to whom he sent his 14 proposalls (as is said) was desired to be present to moderate ye Assembly, & was present, & thanked ye party that sent for him, & was glad to heare what he did & expressed himself much satisfied in what he heard as divers others. And in ye 119 & 120 fol. he saith John Burnyeat preached a sermon about Repentance towards God & faith in Christ, & that he had delivered many holy Truths of God, & againe he denyes what he had said—J do believe he knows not what he had said, nor yet one Quarter of his book is what he delivered in ye dispute, yet dedicated Jt to ye King for True ; And whereas he sayes in 59 fol : none of ye 3 gave him a positive answr to Fox principles ; they will answer for themselves ; he never brought G. F.'s but ye Priest's principles as J. B. desired ye people to take notice

[102] Intended, doubtless, for *slily*, the word used in Williams's book in this connection.

[103] See Camb. *Jnl.*

of, & produced another book of G. F.'s to discover his deceite; John Burnyeat is known to be a man of Truth, And ye Governour of New Plymouth[104] hath heard him declare, & said he never heard so much of ye Gospell in all his life, before, or to that effect, yet thou hast procured him (as J am informed) to give 5lbs to print a book full of lies; But Truth will go over ye heads of all yt oppose it; Though Bryers & thornes do Joyne together agt ye Lord, yet will hee burne them up together; you will be manifest of what spirit you are of; ffor they yt walk in crooked wayes ye Lord will lead them forth with workers of Jniquity when Peace shall be upon God's Jsrael—Thou mightest have gon for a ffriendly Governr had thou not manifested thy self in R. W.'s case against Truth; so likewise when ffriends come before thee in publick thou expressest thy self as much against them as any as in Margaret Brewester's[105] case & others; R. W. living in a peaceable government cannot psecute with his hands, therefore doth with his tongue Jshmael like ffor he that is borne after ye flesh pseuteth him that is borne after ye spirit, even so it is now; The 3d that he mentioneth was John Stubbs; ffor as he abused G. F. & his book; so would he ye original, Jf he had not confuted him & produced his book Lexicon against him; Jn fol: 30, where he speakes of ye trembling of Moses & others, that is false; for he denyed yt Moses trembled till that place of 12th of Heb: & 7th of Acts was by John Stubbs brought forth against him, and then he owned himself in an Errour; But now all his lies must pass for Truth, ffor ye Governour of ye Masathusets disposeth of his bookes.—Arthur Cooke (to whom thou would have given one of his bookes) at Providence went to him in love to have conferred or disputed but he sillily[102] departed saying, come, Let us go gather Apples &c: But G. F.

[104] This was Josias Winslow (c. 1628-1680). He succeeded Thomas Prince, 1673, and was followed in 1680 by Thomas Hinckley (*Supplement to New England's Memorial*).

[105] Margaret Brewster and her husband lived on the island of Barbados. In 1677 she visited Boston. Her appearance before Mr. Thatcher's congregation in the Old South Church was startling enough. See Besse, *Suff.* ii. 259ff.; Whittier, *In the "Old South,"* 1877; Jones, *Quakers in American Colonies*, 1911.

whom he reproacheth falsely, did not so depart this Jsland, but his departure was known sundry dayes, if not weeks before; And he came to our houses & solemnly took his leave of us, & so did of them y^t were in Authority at Barbadoes, and they did not psecute him neither by word nor deed; but he had free liberty to preach amongst them: And whereas one of your Priests did scandalize him, they by their Certificates did cleare him; which Certificates J sent to thee & into y^e other Jurisdictions; so y^t R Wms had opportunity enough either at Providence this Jsland or at Narraganset to have spoken with him, or to have given him notice of his 14 proposalls; but after he was gone when J heard he had sent them to our Dep^tie Governour, J heard out of y^e Masathusets y^t he had sent them to you that caused me to conceive your psecuting Priests might Joyne with him; but none was found y^t did so far ingage w^th him (as is said) as y^e Governour of y^e Masathusets.

And G. F. did send his Queries to y^e Priests to answer he staying 2 or 3 mo^nths after; And they were to send their answer to me; but J never received any from them; though y^e Govern^r of Connecticote did write he had them; And there were severall Coppies of them sent to all y^e united Colonies, & he was ready to conferre or dispute with any that came to him; so y^t his time was wholy taken up in declaring & writing &c: that he had scarsely time to sleep & eat: James Lancaster & Jn^o: Stubbs came to Boston by his approbation & proffered your Priest a disputation, & did go to Oxenbridg[106]: And John Stubbs saluting him in Latine had a disputation w^th him in Latine w^ch he spake fluently: Oxenbridg said, he was informed by m^r Tho: Hinkly[104] they denyed y^e Jmputative Righteousness of Christ; John said Jf he would grant him y^e Jmpartative Righteousness of Christ first, he would grant him y^e Jmputative; And so they agreed that Jf any had not y^e Lord Jesus they were none of his; but he y^t had Christ had all; And so he prayed God to bless them, he would have no hand to psecute them; but said, you will not be borne here, And J am under sufferings here: but they could have no dispute w^th your Priests.

[106] John Oxenbridge (1608-1674) was a minister in the Bermudas, later in Surinam and Barbados, and finally in Boston, N.E. (*D.N.B.*)

Also thou may'st remember y^t John Tyso[107] was by Richard Bellingam[108] Governour comitted close prison^r taking him & his goods from shipboard, for no other cause but that he was a Quaker; J complained of y^e abuse first to thee thou being then Dep^tie Governour, & then to him who promised me y^t John should have a dispute with your Priests after your 5^th day Lecture causing me to attend but pformed it not; J therefore complained of it to thee, thou did go w^th me to R. B. & was free J should have him out of Prison, but R. B. would not unless J would promise that he should not come there no more w^ch J could not promise: J do believe the cause y^t R. B. did not pforme what he had promised was y^t y^e Priests was not willing to come to y^e Light lest their deeds should be reproved; ffor John had told one of your Priests y^t assisted R. B. to examine him who said there was nothing in him y^t he hoped to be saved by &c: to whom John said, thou art a dark man & speakest Jgnorantly of y^e things of God; At which R. B. was in a rage & had forgotten John Cotton's[109] doctrine; though he was a hearer of him (not knowing of it in himself) to prove Christ was in them or he would prove them Reprobates &c: And R. W^ms at y^e dispute, said, Jt was y^e Quaker's fancy, y^e Light within, And denying it proved himself a Reprobate: But J will draw to an end; ffor J writ to thee a Letter about 2 years ago w^ch thou promised to answer but never did; for what do J rake in this filthy puddle of R W^ms book, but to bring thee out of it y^t his deeds of darkness may come to Light! whereas he sayth in folio 41 y^t y^e sun was eclipsed y^e first day & y^t it was very significant, this is another of his lies; ffor y^e first day it thundred; so it was like to his thundring spirit; but it ended in an Eclips w^ch was y^e last day of y^e 3 days dispute at Newport; so y^e day was noteable & significant indeed; so y^t he was discovered by y^e children of Light to be led by y^e Prince

[107] John Tyso (c. 1626-1700), shoemaker, of London, suffered much persecution for his religious belief. There is little known of his visit to New England. Bowden states that he arrived in Boston in 1667, and was immediately arrested by Governor Bellingham (*Hist.* i. 266).

[108] Richard Bellingham (1592?-1672) was Governor of Massachusetts from 1665 to his death. (*D.N.B.*)

[109] John Cotton (1584-1652) was vicar of Boston, Lincs., and later minister of Boston, Mass. (*D.N.B.*)

of Darkness ye father of lies whose works he hath done; here was none though many was present yt would own his 14 Charges; but Jf there be any in ye Masathusets will, Let us have their names & grounds! Oh horrid Jmpudency to invent so many lies, and to present them to ye King of England! that except he had sold himself to work wickedness he could never have uttered so many abusive lies & slanders under a pretence of God & Godlyness: But Truth shall outlive them all. Jt shall stand ye last upon ye Earth, in whom even in ye God of Truth J am thy assured Loving ffriend

Wm. Coddington.

Datd Road Jsland, 21: 8: mo 1677.

Mr Willm Coddington

Yors of 21 : 8mo J received 22 of ye 9mo, wherin you charge me with unfriendlyness contrary to my promise to you my ffriend & my fathers ffriend in that thou sayest J psecute thy ffriends & for proof instantest two cases, ye first is about ye printing of mr Roger William's book, thy words are that you might have gon for a friendly Governour had'st not thou manifested thy self in R. W.'s case against Truth; The other is my carriage to thy ffriends in publick when they come before me that J expresse my selfe against them as much as any, as in Margaret Brewster's case; To both which J shall give you a brief & true answer, not counting it ptinent to ingage to respond your charges of falsehood upon mr Roger Williams, but shall leave that to him who is better able to answer thereto; And for that end J transmitted that Letter (from you to me) unto him; Though J must tell you untill J see more cleare demonstrations for what you say then yet appeares J look at those Charges but as Clamorous unbecoming your age, acquaintance, & alliance to him so long known by you.

J am not ashamed to owne my taking Care for & being at ye Charge of ye coming forth of mr Rogr William's book intitled George Fox digged out of his burroughs; for that there is an ascerting of many great Truths of God in Christ Jesus usefull in this day wherein so many turne from it of those you call ffriends; And for Margaret Brewster Jf you can patronize her carriage at

Boston in coming so publickly on y^e^ Lord's day to y^e^ publick assembly where y^e^ Lord's people were peaceably, quietly & religiously worshiping him according to their understanding from his word according to his will, to give them disturbance by appearing in a diabolicall shape with her face black and haire spread abroad, powdered white, you are not what you sometimes were in old and new Boston; ffor then you would have punished such an uncomely peace breaking practice had it been acted upon any day to a civill assembly; And J must tell you Jf y^e^ tie of your ffriendship be upon those termes that J must abate of God's comand and my duty in my place to accomodate any you call ffriends in such practices or else J am accounted vile in your eyes; what J did therein was for y^e^ Lord & by his Grace, J shall be yet more vile before you, & yet not be found in a crooked way to be led forth with workers of iniquity as you deeme me.

You see meet to charge me with breach of promise two years since in not answering a Letter you sent me; Jf J so promised Jt was with submission to y^e^ Lord's will who was pleased to lay his hand so sharply upon me by fitts of y^e^ stone in a time of great business w^ch^ occasioned that Omission and will be sufficient excuse for me without being charged of neglecting to keep promise. S^r^ the Firme of your last letter is yours, but y^e^ style nor hand J cannot read to be yours; And therefore upon second thoughts J suppose you will see cause to forbeare soe to impose upon me as to think J must take your Jpse dixit ffor what you so often assert about m^r^ Williams to whose farther answer J shall referre you if he see meet to give it you; Jn y^e^ mean time J desire you & J may be helped to number our dayes as that we may apply our heart to wisdom be we older or younger, Jn w^ch^ way J desire to be your ffriend in & for y^e^ Truth while J remaine

Yo^rs^ JOHN LEVERETT.

Boston, 5 Decemb^r^ 1677.

These two letters are copied onto one sheet by a contemporary educated hand. The endorsement runs: "A Coppy of old Governour Coddingtons Letter of Road Island To Govern^r^ Leveret's of Boston and y^e^ s^d^ Govern^r^ Leverets answer to him againe."

XIV.

Ellis Hookes to Margaret Fox, 1678.

This letter appears in modernized form with slight omissions in *Fells*, p. 296. Of himself the writer reports, "J haue had a sore fitt of sicknes none that saw me thought J could haue lived. J am very weak still & can scarce go. J am so faint haueing a violent fflux followes me wch weakens me sorely." At the close E. H. writes, "I am intended to Morrow to goe downe to S. Smith[110] who remaines very ill still; but ebbs & flows being sometimes better."

The letter is written on half of a folio sheet; it is addressed: "For My Lo: friend Margaret ffox at Swarthmore. Wth a booke"; endorsed by Sarah Fell: "Elis Hookes to M: F: the 13°: of the 6°: mth, 1678," and annotated by John Abraham: "This Excellent and very Servicable Man (Elis Hookes) I perceive by this Letter, gave my Dr Grand Mother The Book, wch hee was the Auther off Called ye Spiritt of ye Marters Revived wch Book I haue still In my Closett.[111]"

XV.

Sarah Fell's Instructions for Recording the Business of the Women's Quarterly Meeting, 1681.

The greater part of this manuscript was printed by Maria Webb in her *Fells* (p. 328), but the modern and abbreviated form in which it there appears detracts much from its lively character.

> Jnstructions How you may order the
> businesse in the Quarterly Womens
> Meetting Booke, as ffollowes:—

When the Meettinge is; what businesse as passes the meeting, & is to bee Recorded in the Booke: you must have A sheett of paper, & write it there first in ye time of ye Meettinge, while mattrs are in discourse, for then things are ye freshest upon ye minde, and words will rise

[110] That is, Stephen Smith, of Worplesdon, Surrey (see Camb. *Jnl.*). He died 22 vii. 1678.

[111] It is not yet evident at what date or dates John Abraham (1687-1771) wrote his numerous endorsements; it was probably towards the middle of the eighteenth century.

most suitably to answr ye mattr in hand.—And at leasure it may bee written faire in the Booke, obseruеing my way & methodd, that J haue used formerly.—But the first businesse yt is to bee done; is, to call over the Meettings, and see yt there bee some women from every pticular Meettinge in the County; and in ye beginninge of ye Booke; you will finde all the Meettings sett downe, by name, one aftr anothr; by wch you may call them over in ordr, as they are sett in the Booke.—And if there bee any Meettinge, yt there is noe women from; yt must bee taken notice of, what Meettinge it is, that Neglects and enquiry made into the cause, of their neglect, and if it bee such as Requires it, they should bee reproved for their slacknesse; & desired to more care for the ffuture.—

At the Meettinge, which is in the 7th month every yeare Enquiry must bee made; how it is with the women, in every particular Meetinge in the County, as to the clearnesse of their Testimonies, against Tythes, and unrighteous demands touchinge ye Preists wages, & Steeplehouse Repaires, &c, at wch Meettinge an Account is to bee brought from every pticular Meetinge in the County, by ye women from ye said meettings, eithr in word or writeinge, that soe you may bee satisfied, yt the Testimony is Generally kept to,—as formerly is recorded in ye Booke; and the Lords truth & powr kept up & over this oppression, & his people a cleare people before him, in truth & uprightnesse of heart.—And when any Meetinge giues Account, of any Testimonies, yt are brought in, of women yt are added to the Meettings, eithr by being convinced of late, or added by way of Marieinge into ye meettinge, &c: such womens Testimonies being not Recorded in ye Booke before, you must record in the Booke faire, at leasure, as J haue done before, mindeing what Meettinge, such women, as are added, belonges too; and about ye middle of ye Booke, looke, & there you will finde ye Womens Testimonies in ordr Recorded, as ye Meettings are in ye Booke; and minde, yt those testimonies yt are added, bee putt in at ye lattr end, of ye Meettinge they belonge too:—as you may see at ye Topp of every leafe, which Meetings testimonies followes: and when yt paepr is all writt, yt is left in yt place for such A Meetinge:

Then you must beginn farther in ye Booke; setting the Meetings name, on topp of the leafe; and write all the Meettings in ordr one after another, as they are before, leaveing A leafe or 2: in space, for every Meetinge, for Roome to add such womens Testimonies in, as may come hereafter, wch are to bee Recorded as before.—And if there bee any papers of Condemnation brought from any, yt have fallen into any Transgression, if ye matter bee Recorded in ye Booke, & discoursed on at ye Meettinge, lett such paper bee fixed to ye booke, with A Wafer, as J have done before, as you may see; & putt it to, on ye same leafe side, where they mattr is Recorded; soe may such papers bee preserved, & kept, if there bee occasion for them hereafter.—

What good papers or Epistles, of my ffathers or other ffriends, as comes to you, may bee read in ye Meettings, from time to time, as there is occasion:—There are some loose in ye Booke, that have been read formerly; wch you may gett Tho: Dockrey[112] to Record some of ye best & suitablest into the Booke, neare ye lattr end of ye Booke; J have often had it, in my minde, to Record some of them in ye Booke, but had soe much businesse &c: yt J could not gett it done; but would desire you, that it may not bee Neglected much longer.—This in short is what is in my minde at present; and its my beleife and confidence, that the Lord God, who supplies all his people, with what is needfull; will fitt and furnish you, in his holy wisdome, to pforme & manage, this his worke and service, As there shall bee A necessity; unto whom J comitt you, for strength wisdome & councell; To whom bee Praises for evermore.

The 5° of 3d moth 1681. S. F.

ffor My Dr Sistrs Mary Lower Susannah ffell & Rachell ffell,
Theise.

This very interesting manuscript is in the writing of the author of the *Instructions*, Sarah Fell. It was prepared a few days before her marriage with William Meade. It occupies one-and-a-half pages.

[112] See Camb. *Jnl.*

XVI.

Margaret Fox to George Fox [1681].

This letter was probably written about the middle of the year 1681. The writer had recently arrived at the Hall from London. John Abraham's son referred to was Daniel, and Daniel's visit to Marsh Grange may have served to introduce him to his future wife, Rachel Fell. His spirits had revived considerably before he wrote, a few months later, the letter which follows! The letter reveals considerable lack of education. Had we not been definitely informed that it was written by Rachel Fell, we should not have supposed it the work of any of the Swarthmoor sisters. We do not prefer to think that the sister who was born after the family became Friends received less education than the older daughters of the house.

Deare Loue

Jn the blesed holy Euenity [unity] of the Seed of Life that Jndeuereth & Remeneth for Euer in this is my Etarnell & Deare Loue Remembred un to thee & by this thou may know that wee gott well to Lancaster Jn about tene dayes after wee left London wee stayed some dayes in Chesher & Lancashier & had 2 meeting amongest them, & then came to ouer quarterly meeting which was the largest that wee haue Euer had both for men & wemen & the lords powerfull precence was with us in a gloryes maner prayses to his name fore Euer—there is noething done yett agenest the ffriends only the aduersaryes atorne [attorney] has Charged seuerall persons that is the ffriends Creditorers not to Receue any of ther goods, hee makes greatt boasts whatt hee will doe againest them butt yett hee sath hee wants his atorety which will com in a litle tim frome the King & Bishopes & then hee will Regaine his greatt Charges; it weare well if Jnquiery weare mad wheder ther is any such thing or noe: hee has brought a Reportt frome London that thou ofered to agree with him & sentt for an accouent of his Charges: but noe body beeleues his Lyes but those that ar like him Selfe: ffriends ar Jenaraly well & truth prospers & getts grouend in these parts blesed for Euer bee the Lords holy name;—will:

Barnes[112] of Sanckey is ded all so John Badally of Chesher[113], & John Abrame[114] : Roberd widers wentt that way to see him butt hee was Departed some houer beefore hee gott theder but hee stayed his ffunerall : hee has left a uery Sweett Sauer beehind him both amongest the world & ffriends hee was A sarusabel man in his life & his Death was uery comfortabell to all that was with him & hee left a liuing testimony for the truth, Jnded J was Refreshed to heare the accouent that ffriends gaue of him in the time of his siknes & at his Departuer ; John hadacke[112] and seuerabell other minstering ffriends was at his buerall & had greatt Seruice ; ther being meny of the greatt ones of the Contry & towne his sonn came to the quarterly meeting to take ffriends aduice about his ffather will. hee has left him & his mother Excecters & Tho: Ridgers & Rodger hadacke[112] & my sone Lower Trustey : it seemes hee uery much Disiered that his Sonn might bee alitle whille with my Sonn Lower & trully the younge mane is so much Dedgectt & cast downe with his ffather Death that J doe not see how wee cane Denie him ; & hee has beene for many month prety much Exerciesed in his minde & hauing noe body to bee with at home but what is noe ffriends it is pretty harde & it beeing all so his ffather greatt Disier to hau him alitle time with my sone wee Disier to know what thy minde is consarning it hee does Desier it but for alitle time for hee Jntends to undertake partt of his father trade—J was yester day at march granges to see my Daughter whoe is prety well & her Children my Sonn & shee Remembred there Deare loues un to thee—J haue spoken seuerall times to Leneard ffell aboutt cominge to thee but hee thinkes his bisnes will not admitt him to come this 2 month which J am afread will bee too longe for thee to wantt one to bee constantly with thee. J Desier thee lett us heare from thee & how thou artt in health & how euery thing is with thee : J should bee glade if thou woueld Jncline to come home, that thou might gett a litle Restt mee thinkes its the most Comfortabell when one has a home to bee ther but the lord giue us patience to beare all things this is the

[113] John Baddeley (-1680) lived at Malpas, in Cheshire.

[114] John Abraham, Senr. (1629-1681), lived at Manchester. His wife was Rachel Owen. See THE JOURNAL, i. 32 ; Camb. *Jnl.*

most at presentt but my Deare Euerlasting unallterabell loue which thinkes noe Euell J am thy
Deare louing and
ffathfull wife
Susan & Rachell Remembers M: ff:
there Dearest loue & Duty un to thee.

To Jssabell Yeamans
These D D to bee
Left at George Whittheds at the Sine of Wheat.

[Addressed]
To Jssabell yeamas
leaue this at Gorge
Whitthead at the
Sine of the Wheatsheaf
Jn Houndsdich—
this in Lond.

[Endorsed by John Abraham]
A Letter of my Dear Grandmothers to my Dear and Honourd Grandffather ffox writt by my Dear Mother when she was a Made where in there is an Acc[t] of my Dear Grandfathers Abraham's Sickness and Death with a Good Account of his excellent Life &c.

XVII.

Daniel Abraham to Rachel Fell, 1681.

This ancient love-letter was printed, in part only, in *Fells* (p. 347). It is here given in full.

The original letter is in good preservation, although partly divided at the creases of the paper. The seal, with heraldic device, is complete. The endorsement is here reproduced. Note the use of the word "affected." A letter of a similar, though rather less stilted and more familiar character, written to Rachel's sister, Mary, by Thomas Lower, is also in D. (printed in *Fells*, p. 248).

Jntirely Affected R: F:

Can any love be so firme, & Constant as y[t] w[ch] Originally, is Excited by, & derived from somthing w[ch] in Jt self, is of an Jmmuteable Being: & therefore Jn Jts

Progress doth not Alow of any Mutability, or Wavering : wch those are liable to : whose Basis in this so weighty Concerne is onely, & Alone, Laid upon some Outward preferment ; or Otherwise ye fire of their affection kindled ; from something yt is meerly superficiall : so yt these foregoing Objects they being removed from ; or Jn any Measure disappointed of : Consequently a coolness & a flatness must needs be ye sequall of their Attempts : wch in no sort can betide ye former state & condition : ye Tranquility of wch State being not wholely drawn from a superficiall Center :

Dear Rachell : for to declare ye nature & full Extent of ; yt Centrinall, fixed, & abiding Love ; ye course & motion whereof is in no wise to be stopped ; Neither ye warmness of Jts stream refrigerated, by ye Jnterposition of lenght of time or distance of place : Jts Nature & Course to thee ward : for Mee to demonstrate : were for to render my self Extreamly prolix : or to go about to define yt wch is more amply felt ; then for to alow of any definition : & allthough ye Enjoiment of ye company one of Another ; may possibly communicate more heat to ye allready Quickned Affection : Yet Mee thinks J find a dayly Encrease of true & Ardent Affection : Tending to & pressing much for ye More full Enjoiment & Accomplishment of yt wch at present may be but seen as at a distance : or thorough a Vaile : wch when compleated there may be a slackning those raines wch at present are More safely restrained.

Dear Rachell ; Jn yt J think it will be satisfactory to thee Jt is delightsome to Mee ; to give thee an Accompt yt J got well home & lodged at Preston ye first night after my departure from Swarthmoor Hall : & for thy Satisfaction onely J was willing yt Joseph should have accompanied Mee behind Lancaster : but was prevented thy horse Casting a shoo : J Cannot tell but J may see thee at Quarter Meeting :

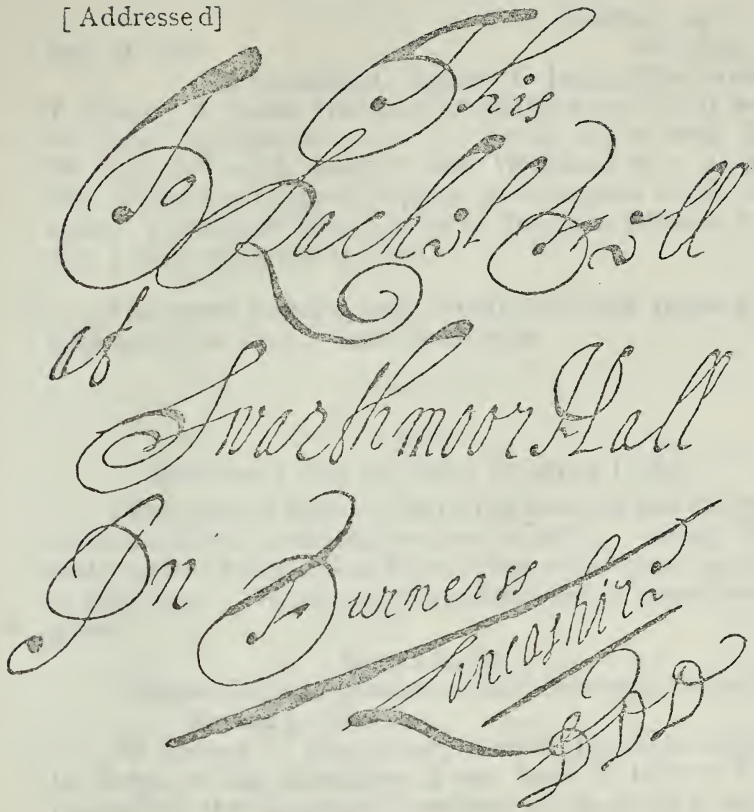
So Jn yt Love wch is firme & Abideing wth thee Deare Rachell J take my Leav untill Another Opportunity :

Thy Truly affected Friend,

D. A.

Manchester
ye 26 of 10br 81.

[Addressed]



XVIII.

GULIELMA PENN TO MARGARET FOX, 1684.

This is printed, in full, in *Fells* (p. 355). It is written in a good, educated hand, sundry strokes reminding us of the hand of Guli's tutor, Thomas Ellwood. Very few of her letters are now extant, so far as our knowledge extends.

XIX.

WILLIAM PENN TO MARGARET FOX, 1684.

This is to be found in Maria Webb's *Fells* (p. 356). A few omissions are here printed.

London, 29th
Dr: M. Fox 8mo 1684.

. . . J. Simcock, C. Tayler, T. Janny, Wm Yardly, T. Brassy, & James Harrison wth many more, J left well, & their famelys.[115] . . . Dr G: F: is well, but W. Gibson[116] nigh death; Ann Whithead ill. Yt day Wm Welch was to leave ye place yt in regard to his low estate, J had putt him in to go to Jersy, he fell sick & in 3 or 4 days departed this life.

The letter is holograph, written on four pages of a folio sheet, in Penn's usual bold style.

XX.

Margaret Fox to King Charles [1684].

This appeal is undated, but from internal and external evidence it was probably written in 1684. George Fox states in his *Journal* that his wife was with him in London in that year. We have not found this letter anywhere in print.

King Charles
Whom God has preserved Chief Governour over this Nation to this Day.

Be pleased to Remember, that at Thy first Coming to Reign in this Kingdom, I was here to Inform Thee concerning the State and Condition of the Lord's people called Quakers; and at that time the King was pleased to promise Liberty to Tender Consciences, so long as they lived peaceably under his Governm: And I then desired no more of the King, than that he would forbear persecuting of them, until he had Iust Cause for their Disloyalty; which I believe and hope, that there is none that can

[115] For Simcock, Taylor, Ann Whitehead, Harrison, see Camb. *Jnl.*; for Thomas Janney, see *F.P.T.*; William Yardley (c. 1632-) was born at Leek, Staffordshire, and emigrated to Pennsylvania in 1682; Thomas Brassey (-1691) "formerly dwelt at Wooleston near Nantwich in Cheshire, and had a solid Testimony" (Whiting, *Memoirs*, 1715, p. 219).

[116] William Gibson (c. 1629-1684) was a prominent Friend of London, and a considerable writer. See Whiting's *Memoirs*, 1715; *D.N.B.*; etc. For his son, of the same name, who aroused much opposition among Friends, see The Journal, i. 22ff.

Charge any of us, that shall be owned of us, found in any Disloyalty.

And yet we are now become very great Sufferers in this Nation, Insomuch that of all other people we are like to be Ruinated as to our outward Liberty and Estates, except the King will be pleased to put a stop to the Cruel proceedings, that are now against us.

I that am above Seventy years of Age, am come up above Twohundred miles in this wett, cold winter, to Lay before the King my Sufferings and some other poor people's, that meet with me in my own house and Country; and the King was pleased to say to me when I was with him at that time, when he first came to Reign in this Kingdom (which is now almost 24 years since) God forbid, that he should hinder me to worship God in my own house.

Its now above a year; Since we haue been Continually pursued by Roger Kirkby[117] and William Kirkby[118] Justices: they fined my house four times, whereas the Act against Conventicles fines the house but once; one of which times they sent an High-Constable who drove away nine head of Cattel of mine, and sold them forthwith without giving me any Liberty for an Appeal: And also Charged him, as he Confessed, not to shew us his warrant, nor to give us a Copy of it: by which I was totally deprived of making my Defence within y^e^ time limited by the Act; and now I haue no outward Remedy left me but to Complain to the King.

And when that High-Constables year was out, his brother was made High-Constable the next year in his place. And he that was in the year before, came with his brother, and drove away fifteen head of Cattel of mine more, and sold them; who then also denyed shewing the warrant, by which he Acted; and refused to give any Copy thereof although often desired. And in the like manner drove many Cattel from several of my poor ffriends almost all they had. So that they haue taken from us above Twohundred & Twenty pounds worth of Cattel, &c.

They haue since fined us seven score pounds more;

[117] Roger Kirkby (c. 1649-1708) was the son of Col. Richard Kirkby. He was Governor of Chester in 1693 and High Sheriff of Lancashire in 1708 (Cowper, *The Kirkbys of Kirkby-in-Furness*, 1906).

[118] For William Kirkby and his brother, Richard, see Camb. *Jnl.*

and none of this that we can hear of, is Converted to the Uses that the Act directs : ffor they send the Con^bles and Church-wardens to our Meetings, and swear them, and make Informers of them ; they knowing, they will not take that part allowed to Informers by y^e Act : So that the Informers part, the King's part and the poors part they keep themselves for anything we know. Thus we are sold for nought, and the King's Wealth is not Increased thereby. And those that were the first Informers before these, said, th[at] the Justices never gave them any thing, but the bare Charges they were put t[*paper torn*] that if this matter be not Amended, we shall be quickly Ruinated and spoiled. Some are almost Ruined already ; and there is none that can help or Relieve us in this matter but the King.

And although they haue taken 24 head of Cattel from me ; that doth not suffice them ; but they threaten to send the Officers to pull and hale me by force to prison : so that I was forced to come to Acquaint the King with these things.

Collonell Kirkby[117], who was ffather to one of these Justices, and brother to the other of them, caused me to be Præmunired Twenty years since, and the King was pleased then to give my Estate to my Children, so that I might live peaceably and quietly with them. And I shewed them the King's Warrant for his Pardon under the broad seal, but they would take no notice of it. Thus haue they used me, although I haue always been their peaceable Neighbour, and never did any one Act to disoblidge them in all my life.

And now one of the said Justices and myself being in Town, I humbly desire the King would be pleased to cause the truth of this matter to be Examin'd face to face and afford us Relief according to y^e Innocency of our Cause ; we being a people that desire nothing but the Kings and all his peoples good & happiness in this World and that which is to come.

MARGARETT FOX, of Swarthmore in Lancashire.

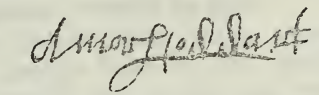
This manuscript is a copy made by Mark Swanner, assistant to Richard Richardson, the Friends' Clerk.

To be concluded.

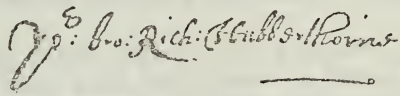
Standard Spellings.

Continued from vol. vii., p. 42.

III. *Amor Stoddart.*—There is considerable variation in both names. *Amos Stodard* appears in a tract, c. 1660, and *Amort Stodart* in another tract, dated 1660, both as printed signatures. *Amor Stodart* occurs consistently in the Camb. *Jnl.* Sarah Fell gives *Amor Stoddart* in her copy of the Fox-Fell marriage certificate (see THE JOURNAL, ix. 100). Joseph Besse has *Amor Stoddard.* Here is a facsimile of Captain Stoddart's signature:—



IV.—*Richard Hubberthorne.* Both forms *Hubberthorn* and *Hubberthorne* appear on the title pages of this Friend's works, but *Hubberthorne* predominates. Thomas Lower spelt it with one *b* (Camb. *Jnl.*).



V.—*John Blaykling.* This is doubtless the correct form, see his autograph:—

It also appears as *Blakeling.* Thomas Lower spells it *Blayklinge* (Camb. *Jnl.*). Besse has *Blakeling.*

VI.—*Anne Blaykling*, sister of John. Besse has *Blakely*, and *Blakeling*; it appears as *Blackling*, *Blacklyn* and *Blackly* in "Extracts from State Papers."

VII.—*Thomas Holme.* This appears to be the correct form, and has the authority of the owner. Besse prefers the spelling *Holme*; Thomas Lower, in his later manuscript, has the same, but in his earlier, *Holmes.*

VIII.—*Barbara Blaugdone.* This is the form of the name as it appears in her "Account of . . . Travels," 1691. In one of her letters she signs her name *Blaugdon* and in another *Blagdone* (Swarth. MSS.). Besse has *Blagdon* and *Blagdown.*

Some Expenses of a Northern Counties Yearly Meeting held in Lancashire in 1786.

A bundle of time-worn papers belonging to Preston Meeting came under the writer's inspection recently.

Numbering about a score and ranging in date from 1722 to 1798, they were found to consist almost wholly of notices as to when and where the next "Circular Yearly Meeting of the Northern Counties" would be held.

From these notices one infers that these annual gatherings of Friends were always held in the fourth month of the year—second month old style—and were confined to the *western* Northern Counties of Cumberland, Westmorland, Lancaster and Chester; the county of Stafford, which with Cheshire formed a Quarterly Meeting, was also included.

Yearly Meetings in other districts of England and Wales appear to have been held from time to time, but not with the same regularity as that which characterized the Northern Yearly Meeting.

A record supplied from Devonshire House gives a complete list of the towns in which these Northern Yearly Meetings were held from 1699 down to the closing meeting held in 1798.

In the *Life and Labours of David Sands*, a footnote on page 87 states that it was customary at these annual gatherings for some Friend from each of the Quarterly Meetings to give a brief account of the state of the Society in the Quarterly Meeting to which he belonged, and matters relating to the general welfare of the Society were discussed at these conferences, which were more largely attended than were the sittings before which matters of discipline came. The note adds :—

> London Yearly Meeting was not at that period attended so largely as is now the case . . . especially prior to the printing of the "Book of Extracts," or "Rules of Discipline"; so that these conferences were important, as affording the opportunity for an exchange of sentiment on various subjects.

It was customary during the three days the meeting held to have one or more public meetings for worship. In the score of notices previously referred to, nearly all

describe the meetings as having been "well attended and held to satisfaction."

Towards the close of the century, some doubt appears to have existed as to the wisdom of continuing to hold the Yearly Meeting, for, in 1791, at the gathering held at Newcastle in Staffordshire, "the several Quarterly Meetings constituting the Yearly Meeting" were to be asked "weightily to consider the expediency of continuing or discontinuing the Meeting."

For seven more years, however, the Circular Yearly Meeting assembled as before, until from the notice dated Liverpool, 1798, we read that

> Notwithstanding this Meeting hath as heretofore been held to Satisfaction, After solid consideration thereon, it is with much Harmony concluded to discontinue the holding thereof. . . . Robert Benson is desired to send a Copy of this minute to the Clerk of the Meeting for Sufferings in London and to the several Quarterly Meetings concerned.

The first six Northern Counties Yearly Meetings, from 1699 to 1705, were held at Lancaster; other towns in which they were held were Carlisle, Middlewich, Kendal, Liverpool, Chester, Cockermouth, Whitehaven, Preston (in 1735 "in a wooden shed 24 yds. by 20 yds., with seats, cost £25 4s. 0d."), Wigan (1750, cost £54 11s. 6d.) Nantwich, Penrith, Stockport, Appleby, Bolton, Congleton, Brampton, Macclesfield, Ormskirk, Keswick, Kirkby Stephen, Ulverston, Longtown, Rochdale, Northwich, Blackburn and Newcastle.

William Stout, of Lancaster, mentions in his Journal, under date 1723,

> I was at the General Meeting of our Friends at Chester. The same was kept in a large place called the Tennis Court which would hold some thousands of people.
>
> The citizens who came in were very attentive and civil, as also in the streets and inns and to general satisfaction.

The same Friend mentions attending "Lancaster Yearly Meeting for the Northern Counties" in 1726, which "was large, peaceable and to the satisfaction of all attending it, of different religious professions."

Evidently it was sometimes necessary to put up temporary buildings to accommodate the unusual number of Friends and others who flocked to the meetings.

Amongst the papers from which the writer quotes, is a letter dated 1795, from Caleb Birchall, of Stockport, addressed to John Field, Grocer, Lancaster, wherein the former acknowledges a contribution of £35 "towards the expenses of the temporary Erection for accomodating the Northern Yearly Meeting held at this place." Caleb Birchall further adds:—"I intend taking care that it may be duly reported to our next Quarterly Meeting for Cheshire and Staffordshire and am well assured the Q.M. will be gratefully sensible of the extraordinary kindness of Lancashire Friends."

In *The Journal of John Griffiths* there is an allusion to the Yearly Meeting being "held in a convenient booth erected for the purpose," at Ormskirk in 1770, "which it was thought would accommodate two thousand people; yet it was not found sufficient to contain the numbers who came, so that some other meetings were held in the open air at the same time,"—"the people," he says, "in general behaved with civility and respect and the meetings were well conducted."

Doubtless it would be to some similar temporary buildings as those erected at Stockport and Ormskirk that the following account, found amongst the Preston documents, has reference.

Unfortunately the heading of the paper has been torn off and lost, and it is further mutilated, yet many details remain which, read in the light of present day customs, possess a quaintness and interest which is refreshing:—

. . .	[*part torn off*]	. .	. .	. . .
11th	Cash spent at Preston upon treating with an Undertaker there	0	0	6
19th	Cash paid for a Stamp for the Contract . .	0	6	2
4th mo. 3d	Cash spent on the Workmen when they began to erect the Booth	0	6	0
8th	Cash spent on Dº (2d time)	0	4	6
12th	Cash spent on Dº (3d time)	0	3	6
Dº	Cash paid to Workmen for leveling the ground in the Booth	0	4	10
15th	Cash paid for Mowing, Rakeing and Carting Rushes	1	1	3
Dº	Cash paid for Carrying and strawing Sawdust..	0	1	6
Dº	Cash paid for spreading the Rushes in the Booth	0	0	8
Dº	Cash spent on the Workmen upon finishing the Booth	0	3	0

20th	Cash and Bills paid Peter Rothwell according to Contract	66	3	0
Do	Cash paid Do for some things done more than the Bargain	0	12	0
Do	Cash paid for one man to attend and watch the Booth five days and nights	0	15	0
Do	Cash paid L : Whitaker for Ale alowed the men who watched in the night	0	3	0
21st	Cash paid Do for the use of his Yard	4	4	0
Do	Cash paid Do for his large Room	1	1	0
Do	Cash paid Willm Smalley for the Cunstables attending 3 days to keep the people quiet (with meat and Drink allowed them) ..	1	1	3
Do	Cash paid Wm Haworth for stoping his Workmen during the meetings	0	10	6
Do	Cash paid for the use of 22 stools to support the seats in the Chamber and carrying them (several was damaged)	0	2	6
Do	Cash paid for damage done a Table Cloath that covered one of the Windows	0	0	6
Do	Cash paid for the Carriage of the Books from Preston	0	0	4
		78	12	0
	Incidents	4	4	0
		£82	16	0

There is also something paid by a Friend of Marsden towards the expenses of some Strangers who attended the Meeting, and by R. Abbott for the Carriage of the Books from London to Preston, of which I have no account: perhaps the Friends who paid the money may be at the Quarterly Meeting and give account of the same, the above account of what I paid is all that I remember.

JAMES BRANDWOOD.

It would appear probable that the Y.M. to which the account refers was held in 1786 at Blackburn. Two years prior to this a new Meeting House had been erected at Preston, and this fact perhaps caused the local Friends to decide on the Preston "undertaker" as builder. The writer of a history of Blackburn states that Friends first settled there in 1777.

James Brandwood, in whose neat handwriting the account is, lived at Westhoughton, near Wigan; born in 1740, he joined Friends at the age of twenty-two, and was

a Minister in the Society for more than fifty years; he died in 1826.[1]

William Dillworth, of Lancaster, to whom the account was sent, was also a well-known Friend, and on his decease in 1789, at the age of seventy-three, a Testimony concerning him was issued, couched in the choicest of Friendly phraseology. Of his five daughters, four married into the Quaker families of Wilson, Dockray, Birkbeck, and Crewdson respectively.

Robert Abbatt, who is mentioned as being out of pocket on account of the carriage of books, was a Preston Friend who, according to the Minute Book of Filde Monthly Meeting, served "in the Capacity of Clark for about 40 years." He was seventy years old at his death in 1795.[2]

The following Friends were present at the Yearly Meeting at Blackburn in 1786:—George Dillwyn, William Matthews, Mehetabel Jenkins, Esther Tuke and Tabitha Marriott. George Dillwyn from America and probably one or more of the other Friends mentioned were the "Strangers" alluded to by James Brandwood.

DILWORTH ABBATT.

[1] In 1828, John Bradshaw edited the *Letters of the late James Brandwood*, copies in D. [ED.]

[2] Robert Abbatt, Senr. (-1763), is mentioned in Thomas Story's *Journal* and elsewhere. He established the first water supply in Preston, in 1729, by means of wooden pipes—tree trunks bored through—of which the writer has a small specimen. The corporation fined him for supplying water on "Good Friday," so he declined to supply it on Fridays afterwards, his reason being that all Fridays should be Good Fridays!

A few weeks ago died in this city, Mr. Thomas White,[1] one of the people called Quakers, son of Mr. Timothy White, schoolmaster, of the city of York, and brother to Dr. White,[2] of the same place. He has left a widow and three children.

Newscutting in D., dated 1788.

[1] Died in London, 30 x. 1787, aged 39. A Non-member.

[2] For William White, M.D., see THE JOURNAL, v. 42.

A Long and Eventful Life.

The Life of EDWARD DRINKER, *of Philadelphia, who saw greater revolutions than any other man that was ever born.*

EDWARD DRINKER was born in a cottage in 1680, on the spot where the city of Philadelphia now stands, which was inhabited at the time of his birth by Indians, and a few Swedes and Hollanders. He often talked of picking blackberries and catching wild rabbits where this populous city is now seated. He remembered William Penn arriving there his second time, and used to point out the spot where the cabin stood in which Mr. Penn and his friends were accommodated on their arrival.

The life of this aged citizen is marked with circumstances which never befel any other individual; for he saw greater events than any other man, at least since the Patriarchs. He saw the same spot of earth, in the course of his own life, covered with woods and bushes, the receptacles of wild beasts and birds of prey, afterwards become the seat of a great city, not only the first in wealth and arts in America, and equalled but by few in Europe: he saw great and regular streets where he had often pursued hares and wild rabbits: he saw fine churches rise upon morasses, where he used to hear nothing but the croaking of frogs; great wharfs and warehouses, where he had so often seen the Indian savages draw their fish from the river; and that river afterwards full of great ships from all the world, which in his youth had nothing bigger than an Indian canoe; and on the spot where he had gathered huckleberry he saw their magnificent City-Hall erected, and that Hall filled with legislators astonishing the world with their wisdom and virtue. He also saw the first treaty ratified between the United Powers of America and the most powerful Prince in Europe, with all the formality of parchment and seals; and on the same spot where he once saw William Penn ratify his first and last treaty with the Indians. And to conclude, he saw the beginning and the end of the British Empire in Pennsylvania. He had been the subject of many crowned heads; but when he heard of the many oppressive and unconstitutional acts passed in Britain, he bought them all, and gave them to his great grandsons to make kites of; and embracing the liberty and independence of his country in his withered arms, and triumphing in the last year of his life in the salvation of his country, he died on the 17th of November, 1782, aged 103 years.

From the *Philadelphia Gazette*, April 20, 1783. Newscutting in D.

On Wednesday last [21 iii. 1758] died at his house in Albemarle-street, Clerkenwell, in his 76th year, Mr. John Jennings, an eminent Quaker, and one of the greatest Contractors for Oxen in the Kingdom. The bulk of his fortune, which is very considerable, he has left to his Son-in-Law, Mr. Saunders of Tottenham.

Newscutting in D., dated 1758.

The Cambridge "Journal."

Continued from page 67.

11.—Vol. II., p. 394.—Matthew Richardson cannot have been *own brother* of Margaret Fell. Her maiden name was Askew. In a letter written in 1685, she states that her father, John Askew, "had Children only me & another daughter" (D., A.R.B. MSS., quoted in *Beginnings of Quakerism*, p. 99). George Fell mentions *uncle* Matthew Richardson, and George Fox writes to his wife of "thy *brother* Richardson" (THE JOURNAL, viii. 4). Perhaps Richardson had married Margaret Fell's only sister, and was hence her *brother-in-law*.

12.—Vol. II., p. 435.—Hannah *Field* should be Hannah *Feake*. A story introducing the Bowne and other Long Island families has been recently published in New York City—*The Quaker Cross*, by Cornelia M. Parsons.

13.—Vol. II., p. 376.—Date of the death of John Perrot. See THE JOURNAL, ix. 95 n.

14.—Vol. II., p. 484.—The conclusion of the quotation from Orme's *Baxter* should read "they had the less leisure to look after the meetings of *soberer* men, which was much to their present ease." See A. N. Brayshaw in *Swanwick, 1911*, p. 115.

15.—Vol. II., p. 421. A discrepancy has been noted in the presumed date of the birth of Mary Fell. The date given here (*circa* 1644) has been calculated from the Register of her death. She died 1719, x. 22, aged 75, so would have been born about 1644. But the statement on the paper containing her address to Priest Lampitt (i. 439)—"When she was 8 years old 1655"—would, as read, put the year of her birth about 1647. It may be, however, that 1655 was the date of the endorsement and not the year in which she became eight years old. Reckoning from 1644, she would be eight in 1652 and this was the year in which the controversy raged between early Friends and Lampitt. The Ulverston Parish Registers for this period are, unfortunately, destroyed.

16.—Vol. I., p. 396.—Will of Rice Jones of the town of Nottingham, cordwainer, dated 28 March, 1693. To my eldest son Rice Jones 5s. To my dau^r Mary Doidge[1] £10. To my son Abell Jones[2] all the rest of my

[1] Wife of Richard Doidge, of Westcott, near Collington, co. Cornwall, gent., 1722.

[2] His will, as of Nottingham, glassfounder, was proved at York in 1723.

estate and make him exor. Witns William Rhodes, James Pearson, William Rhodes junior.

Proved at York. Vol. 62—167.

17.—Vol. I., p. 438.—Alfred F. Robbins, of Dunheved, Villa Road, Brixton, S.W., writes,

"I have been reading with deep interest your recently published edition of *The Journal of George Fox*, for, as one of the historians of my native town of Launceston, I have an especial interest in the persecution of Fox there in 1656. In your notes (i. 438), you refer to an informing article on "Launceston Castle and Doomsdale" in *The Friend* of 1846; but I would suggest that at least one of the notes would have been rendered more assured if you had also referred to two articles in *The Friends' Quarterly Examiner* of Tenth Month, 1895, and First Month, 1896, the former by Dr. Hodgkin, and the latter by myself. It may further interest you to know that in the St. Ives (Cornwall) Borough accounts for 1656-7, is an item 'Payd ffor goeing to Lanceston with the Quakers £1 2s. 0d.'"

18.—Vol. II., p. 155.—"ffreindes gott a certificate under some of ye parlamente mens handes as aforesaid to cleere George ffox: from yt abuse: & how yt it was Jo: ffox: ye p(r)esbyterian preist & not G.ff: ye quaker."

In a bound volume of MSS. belonging to Bristol and Frenchay M.M. (now on a short loan in D.), entitled *Letters and Papers of George Fox and other Early Friends*,[3] there is an ancient sheet, endorsed thus:—"ye copie of the Certificats under the hands of two members of ye pliament that G. ffox was not that ffox which was accused for speakeing treasonable words, 1670." These certificates, with accompanying letter by Thomas Ellwood and Edward Man, believed to be in the handwriting of the former, are as follows:—

Thes is a true testemony against those lies and slanders and fals[ehoods][4] that hath been of late Cast upon George ffox who in scorn [is called] a quaker, and is spread up and downe the Citty towns & Countreys. [These] false reports was that he should speake treasonable words against [the] Kinge, which was Contrarie to his nature and principles, And soe it was Cleared and proued amongst the parliament men, that it was not George ffox who is Called a quaker, but one ffox who neuer was a quaker whose name was not George neither was those words spoken in any of the quakers meetings, You may see where he liued in the Certificates from some of the parliament men, And About that tyme when those words were spoken George ffox who is Called a quaker was aboue one hundred Myles of that place where that meeting was when those words were spoken, And these Certificats following were gotten from the parliament

[3] Four other volumes, bound in similar style, are "deposited" in D. and known as Bristol MSS. i.-iv.—this volume may be referred to as Bristol MSS. v.

[4] The words within brackets were probably written on the paper worn away at the edges of the sheet.

men for Clearing of his Inocency, for it was reported that a Judge should speak it in his Charge that [it] was a quaker that spake those words; And wee knowing y^t [people] are soe apt to believe reports against us: and if there be any ba[dness] don in the world they are apt to Cast it upon us, as formerly we[re the] Monarchy mens actions and doeings cast upon us, soe now th[ey have] don the same by this priests Actions to set the world again[st us] and to render us and our principles of truth Odious, But the lo[rd] cleared his people and George his Inocency from all such Act[ions] and words blessed be his name for euer; And Soe it is good for all people to take heed how they report and how they believe reports but to mind the royall law of god which is not to doe to others that w^ch they would not haue don to them sealues. And soe from them which oweth nothing but loue and good will to the Kinge and desires his euerlasting good and his prosperity in the truth and wisdome of god and all people upon the earth

London y^e 9^th of y^e 2^th mō 1670. THO. ELLWOOD. EDWARD MAN.

This is to be sent to all y^e Magestrates and officers where that false reports hath been spoken of George ffox.

These are to Certify to whom it may Concerne, that the p[erson] named ffox: complained of to the house of Commons to [be] the Chife ring leader in the unlawfull Assembly at Wootton-under-hedge in the County of Gloccester; was some tymes Parson of Marshfield in the County of Wilts. G. TALBOT.[5]

Wesminster Aprill y^e 8^th 1670.

J doe farther Certify, that the aboue named ffox was the same person that was Complained off to the house of Commons, to be the principle saducer in that Conventicle in Wiltshire where those treasonable words were spoken which ware report[ed] to the house in ffebuary last.

White hall Aprill y^e 9^th 1670. W. CHURCHIL[L].[6]

A true Copie from the Originall.

19.—Vol. II., p. 326.—A further reference to Anne Gargill's visit to Portugal in 1655 is given by Mary G. Swift, of Millbrook, N.Y., in the *Bulletin of Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia*, for Third Month, taken from Bishop's *New England Judged*, published in 1661; and in the same periodical, the same writer cites from Sewel's *History* another and later notice of A. G., when she gave trouble in Holland in 1657.

[5] Sir Gilbert Talbot, Knt. and Bart., was M.P. for Plymouth Borough from 1666, also Master of the Jewels under Charles II. (*Cal. S.P.Dom.*)

[6] Sir Winston Churchill (1620?-1688) was knighted in 1663, and was M.P. for Weymouth and Melcomb Regis Borough at the date of his letter. (*D.N.B.*)

20.—Vol. II., p. 446.—For *Alexandria* read *Alexandretta*, and insert latter name in the Index. *Alexandria* was taken from the *F.Q.E.* article referred to in the note to Stephen Smith.

21.—Vol. II., p. 455.—Thomas Davidson, of Fritchley, writes:—

"George Keith's wife was *Elizabeth* Johnston, daughter of Dr. William Johnston and his wife Barbara Forbes. Dr. William Johnston was a son of Sir George Johnston, of Caskieben.[7] Elizabeth Johnston was the widow of Dr. Alexander Whyte, also a University Professor as her father had been, but she and her mother were both widows at the time of their convincement (1663). Elizabeth Johnston must have received a gift in the Ministry very early, as she and Patrick Livingstone were largely instrumental in gathering the Meeting at Kinmuck. After the appearance of their defection, Aberdeen Friends in 1694 wrote a beautiful and pathetic letter to 'Our Ancient Friends George and Elizabeth Keith,' but, alas, without the desired effect. In 1676 we find a George Johnston among the Aberdeen sufferers, and the surname of Johnston lingered on among Friends in that county till about twenty years ago, when Barbara Johnston, wife of Alexander Littlejohn, died at Kinmuck, leaving no descendants. The present Lord Leith of Fyvie represents the branch of the Forbes family who were most prominent among early Friends. Lord Leith's mother was the last Forbes of Blackford."

The name, *Anna*, was too hastily incorporated in the note from *Quakers in the American Colonies*, p. 369, where we read, "The provincial records shew that in 1684 George Keith arrived with his wife Anna, . . ." Amelia M. Gummere, the writer of this section of the book, states that the information as to George and *Anna* Keith was taken from the *New Jersey Archives*, vol. xxi., p. 69, dated 1684/5, February. She adds, "I feel sure *Elizabeth* was the wife who went on the Dutch journey."

It may be that George Keith married, first, Elizabeth Johnston, and secondly, before 1684, Anna ——, but against this is the reference to the Aberdeen Friends' letter to George and *Elizabeth* Keith in 1694, the year of Keith's disownment by London Y.M.

22.—Vol. II., pp. 385, 416.—The actual number of Friends who signed the Fox-Fell marriage certificate was *ninety-four*. See THE JOURNAL, ix. 100.

[7] One of the Johnstons was the original of George Macdonald's cobbler-baronet in *Sir Gibbie*.

Many would fain imagine, that man may be saved merely by the imputation of Christ's righteousness; which, if it were true, would be a mighty palatable doctrine to a multitude of self-lovers.

JOHN GRIFFITHS, *Some Brief Remarks upon Sundry Important Subjects*, 1764, p. 35.

Friends in Current Literature.

The history of the Friends is attracting extraordinary attention.

Contemporary Review, Literary Supplement, April, 1912.

It is interesting to learn that the Jewish Press Publishing Company, of New York City, has chosen the new edition of *A History of the United States*, written by our friend, Allen C. Thomas, A.M., of Haverford College, Pa., for republication with a parallel Yiddish translation.[1] This has recently appeared in two volumes of over 500 pages each. The Publishing Company states that "the Yiddish translation is as faithful a reproduction of the spirit of the author, as the skill of those who are masters of the languages involved could make it."

In the new Congregational church at Fairhaven in the Ribble estuary, co. Lancaster, there are figures in stained glass representing sixteen prominent leaders of Nonconformity, including George Fox. Luke S. Walmsley, of Fairhaven, has written a series of biographies of the sixteen which he entitles *Fighters and Martyrs for the Freedom of Faith* (London: Clarke, 8 by 5¼, pp. 509, 3s. 6d. net). The article on George Fox is written in a very kindly and sympathetic spirit. "He taught that Christ was not a far-off Saviour or hidden in creeds, but living, present and near." This section of the book closes with the words:—

"No greater blessing could come to Britain than that the mantle of George Fox should fall upon some prophet with the twentieth century gift of illumination and power, and for Friends once more to cover the land with a new evangel of simplicity, peace and love."

A little book of *Selections Appropriate for Use at the Funerals of our Friends* has been compiled and published by direction of Baltimore Y.M. (Hicksite).[2] The contents consist of Scripture passages, extracts from the writings of Lyman Abbott, Tennyson, Whittier, Longfellow, Bryant, Bonar and others, the majority of the thirty-one extracts being poetical.

Dr. Albert Cook Myers has completed another literary work of great value. He has edited for the American Historical Association a volume of the series "Original Narratives of Early American History," entitled *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey, and Delaware, 1630-1707* (New York: Scribner, 9 by 6, pp. 476, $3.00 net). In this handsome volume are reprinted twenty tracts and books which narrate the establishment of the Swedish settlements on the Delaware in 1638,

[1] Both the new edition of this work, brought out in 1903, and the Anglo-Yiddish edition, are in D., having been presented by A. C. Thomas.

[2] A copy has been received for preservation in D., by the kindness of Edward Stabler, Jun., of Monument Street, Baltimore, Md.

their absorption into the Dutch colonies in 1655, the cession of New Netherland to the English in 1667, and later events.

The reprints of special interest to Friends are :—The Epistle of Penn, Lawrie and Lucas respecting West Jersey, 1676[3]; The Present State of the Colony of West-Jersey, 1681; Some Account of the Province of Pennsilvania, by William Penn, 1681[4]; Letter from William Penn to the Committee of the Free Society of Traders, 1683[5]; Letter of Thomas Paschall, 1683[6]; A Further Account of the Province of Pennsylvania, by William Penn, 1685[7]; Letter of Doctor Nicholas More, 1686[8]; A Short Description of Pennsilvania, by Richard Frame, 1692[9]; An Historical and Geographical Account of Pensilvania and of West-New-Jersey, by Gabriel Thomas, 1698[10]; Circumstantial Geographical Description of Pennsylvania, by Francis Daniel Pastorius, 1700[11]; Letter of John Jones, 1725.

To each reprint there is a valuable introduction, also explanatory notes in which many Friends find place. Dr. J. Franklin Jameson, of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, D.C., general editor of the series, writes an opening Note.

[3] See Camb. *Jnl.*, i. 452. Gawen Lawrie lived in London in 1676. "In 1684 he came over with his family to East New Jersey as Deputy Governor and took up his residence at Elizabethtown. There he died in the fall of 1687" (*Narratives*, p. 181). Nicholas Lucas was a Hertford Friend.

[4] A copy of this rare and very valuable pamphlet is in D.

[5] A copy of this has been for many years preserved in D. A copy of the second edition of the Dutch translation, *Missive van William Penn*, Amsterdam, by Jacob Claus, 1684, has recently been acquired from the library of the late Francis Fry, of Bristol.

[6] Paschall was a native of Bristol who settled in Pennsylvania in 1682, and died in 1718. It is probable that he was not a Friend, although Joseph Smith inserts his name in his *Supplement*. A Dutch translation of this letter is in D., at the end of Penn's *Missive*, 1684.

[7] There are two copies of this *Further Account* in D., and one of the translation into Dutch, *Tweede Bericht*, Amsterdam, n.d.

[8] Dr. More, "although a man apparently of good abilities, was a non-Quaker, out of sympathy with members of that sect" (*Narratives*, p. 282).

[9] The only known copy of the work is in the Ridgway Branch of the Library Company of Philadelphia (seen there by the Editor of THE JOURNAL last autumn). "It is believed to be the first metrical composition printed in Pennsylvania" (*Narratives*, p. 297). Nothing is yet known of the author.

[10] Gabriel Thomas (1661-1714) was a Friend in earlier life, but, apparently, left the Friends later. A copy of the original edition was presented to D. some years ago by the executors of the late Edward Backhouse, and another copy, from the Bevan-Naish Library, has been recently "deposited" at Devonshire House. The New York reproduction of 1848, and the Cleveland reprint of 1903, are also in D.

[11] Pastorius (1651-c.1720) emigrated from Germany in 1683. See standard biography by Prof. M. D. Learned, Philadelphia, 1908.

Herbert G. Wood, M.A., of Woodbrooke, has written *George Fox*, in the series "Leaders of Revivals," now being brought out by the National Council of Evangelical Free Churches (London: Headley, 7 by 4½, pp. 157, 1s. net). The object of the series—"to deal with epochs of Free Church revival, emphasizing the central figures, but at the same time giving a general survey of the periods in which the great religious revivals occurred"—prevented anything like a *vie intime*, but this is an admirable little work, freshly written by one not actually in membership with Friends. The quotation which opens the book—"Almighty God uphold our spirits in these broken times"—is a very fitting commencement, and "broken times" is a good description in miniature of the times in which Quakerism had its rise.

The Yorkshire 1905 Committee (Ernest E. Taylor, Bannisdale, Malton, Yorkshire) has reprinted from *Swanwick, 1911*, A. Neave Brayshaw's introductory address at the Summer School held last year in Derbyshire, under the title, *The Life that is Life Indeed*, pp. 24, 1½d.

Francis A. Knight, of Sidcot, Somerset, editor of "The Annual Monitor," and author of numerous books relating to Somersetshire, has recently written a novel entitled *The Rajpoot's Rings* (London: Dent; and New York: Dutton, 7¾ by 5, pp. 310, 5s. net), the scenes of which are laid in India during the Mutiny, in the West of England, and on a desert island in the Bay of Bengal. A copy, presented by the Author, is in D.

Constable and Company, of London, have just issued a book by our friend, H. Douglas C. Pepler, of London, entitled *The Care Committee, the Child and the Parent* (7½ by 5, pp. 101, 2s. 6d. net). It contains "the history of the provision of meals to the children of poor parents; and an account of Children's Care Committees, their work and organisation, with particular reference to the place of the voluntary worker and the duties of an official."

Two recent issues of the Home University Library of Modern Knowledge (London: Williams and Norgate; New York: Holt. 6¾ by 4, pp. about 250, 1s. net), have been written by Friendly authors—*The English Language*, by Logan Pearsall Smith, M.A., of Oxford, son of the late Robert P. and Hannah Whitall Smith, and *The American Civil War*, by Frederic L. Paxson, Professor of American history in the University of Wisconsin. Roger E. Fry, M.A., of Guildford, son of Sir Edward Fry, is writing *Italian Art of the Renaissance*.

The seventh volume of Edward Grubb's *Bible Notes* appeared early this year (Croydon: 3, George Street, 6½ by 4, pp. 96, and interleaved blanks, 1s. net). It deals with "The Person of Christ in the New Testament."

For four years a committee of Friends has been at work preparing a revision of Part II. of the *Christian Discipline of the Religious Society of Friends of London Yearly Meeting*. This was presented to and passed by London Y.M. at an adjournment held in Eleventh Month last. Part II. is entitled "Christian Practice," and consists chiefly of extracts from Epistles and other documents issued under the sanction of London Y.M. from 1672 to the present (London: Headley, 8½ by 5½, pp. xii. + 166, 1s. net). In the fourteen chapters of this book is to be found much helpful advice not alone for Friends but for Christians of other persuasions. Subjects such as Divine worship, Bible-reading, prayer, ministry, marriage, education, home and foreign missions, moral difficulties, peace and war, are treated with much perspicuity. The chapter on Christian Living touches many phases of life in its various manifestations. The following paragraph is dated 1911:—

"We earnestly counsel Friends not to give way to a feeling of annoyance when appeals are made to them for pecuniary help for religious, educational and philanthropic objects. It should be nothing but joy to the Christian to support, according to his ability, wise efforts to promote the good of others . . . Those who are appointed to collect subscriptions should avoid an apologetic tone, endeavouring rather to suggest to Friends that they are being reminded of a privilege. The duty of collecting, which is often regarded as a thankless one, will be greatly eased if requests for help, whether they can be acceded to or not, are always received in a grateful spirit, with remembrance of the words: 'It is more blessed to give than to receive'" (p. 121).

Christian Discipline can now be obtained through Headley Brothers, 140, Bishopsgate, London, E.C., in three separate parts:—I. Christian Doctrine, 1883, pp. 28, 1d. and 3d.; II. Christian Practice, 1911, pp. 166, 1s. net; III. Church Government, 1906, pp. 153, 1s. 6d. net.

Howard Hodgkin, M.A., a London Friend, has written the Introduction to *Selections from the Poems of John Greenleaf Whittier* in "The Muses' Library" (London: Routledge; and New York: Dutton, 6 by 4, pp. 375, 1s. net).

Eleanor Densmore Wood, M.A., of Wellesley College, U.S.A., has written *The Story of the Prophets of Israel*, which has been published by Headley Brothers, as No. 1 of the Adult School Study Series, pp. 225, 1s. net. The order taken is Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Micah, Zephaniah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, the Second Isaiah. Tom Bryan, M.A., has written an Introduction. These studies were first brought out by Eliza H. Worrell, for Friends' General Conference, Philadelphia, in connection with "Friends' Graded Course for First-Day Schools."

In 1663, Sir Joseph Williamson (1633-1701), Secretary of State to Charles II., noted in a book information obtained by spies employed by him respecting sundry disaffected and dangerous persons. "Williamson's Spy Book" has been known for long only by certain references to it in books dealing with the Restoration period, but recently Prof. G. Lyon Turner discovered the manuscript in the Public Record Office. Of his

great find Mr. Turner writes in the *Transactions* of the Congregational Historical Society, for January and May, 1912, "It is a book about six inches square, one inch thick, indented in index form and evidently intended for extensive use." It is without title, and does not appear to have been in use for more than a few months. There are 112 names, among them those of Edward Byllinge, Gawen Lawrie, Giles and Elizabeth Calvert, Daniel Gotherson, Cornet Joyce, and Andrew Robeson.

Henry W. Wilbur, of Philadelphia, general secretary of Friends' General Conference Advancement Committee, 140 North Fifteenth Street, has written a little book on *Job Scott, an Eighteenth Century Friend* (6¾ by 4¾, pp. 112, 75 cents). Of Job Scott the author writes:—

"His distinct and possibly unique contribution to religious thought was to elaborate the fundamental Friendly theory of the indwelling Spirit, and to rationalize and practicalize the plan of salvation, taking it out of the realm of the speculative and placing it entirely within the range of the practical. Salvation from Scott's standpoint was a life-building process . . . His purpose as preacher and teacher . . . was to present to the minds of men a rational type of pure and applied Christianity."

Some thirty pages are occupied with a sketch of Job Scott's life. He was born in Providence, R.I., in 1751, and died at Ballitore, Ireland, in 1793, while on a religious visit to Europe. He was not a birthright member. The remainder of this book is occupied with reviews of various beliefs and teachings of this noted preacher and of his writings.

By voice and pen our Friend, Edward Grubb, has been busy lately setting forth the doctrines and practices of the Society of Friends.

Some months ago he lectured at Mansfield College, Oxford, on "The Society of Friends," and his lecture, with the other lectures of the series, which dealt with the Anglican, Presbyterian, Congregational, Baptist and Methodist Churches, was printed under the editorship of W. B. Selbie, D.D., Principal of the College, with the title *Evangelical Christianity: Its History and Witness* (London: Hodder, 8¼ by 5½, pp. xii. + 256, 6s.)

Again, later, Edward Grubb joined with members of other religious communities in the production of *The Unity of Faith*, edited by Geoffrey Rhodes (London: Kegan Paul, 7¾ by 5, pp. 222, 3s. 6d.). Chapter v. is "The Society of Friends and Its Witness to Spiritual Reality," the previous chapter being "The Free Churches" and the succeeding, "Unitarianism." In this volume the basis is wider and includes articles on "Judaism" and "The Catholic and Roman Church." With respect to the inclusion of the last named, "The Tablet" has something to say in its review of this collection of essays (issue of June 1). The reviewer writes:

"This little book is an attempt to show the truth of religion by the concurrent and independent testimony of a number of religious men, who regard this question from such various standpoints as those of Jews, Catholics, Anglicans, Nonconformists, Quakers, and Unitarians . . . Possibly some conservative theologians amongst us may at first be disposed

to regard this new departure with some misgiving . . . for [they say] is it not compromising the dignity and infallibility of the Catholic Church to put her witness on a common level with that of the Free Churches and the Society of Friends? But, however plausible they may appear at first sight, these objections are really based on a partial and imperfect conception of Catholic principles . . . The Fathers of the Church and other orthodox divines do not disdain to borrow arguments or evidence from Jews and heretics and pagan philosophers . . . When we regard the variety of the positive tenets and principles of all the various human and imperfect systems of religion . . . we may feel more sure of finding some agreement between the Church and every one of the sects than between any two, or more, of the separated systems of fragmentary Christianity."

The articles contributed to "The British Friend" by Edward Grubb, originating from the discussion on business morality in the Yearly Meeting of 1911, have been reprinted in expanded form as a volume entitled *Christianity and Business*, recently published in London by T. Fisher Unwin and Headley Brothers (7½ by 5, pp. 128, 2s. 6d. net).

The Swarthmore Lecture, delivered by Terrot Reaveley Glover, M.A., St. John's College, Cambridge, at the Yearly Meeting recently held in Manchester, has been published for the Woodbrooke Extension Committee by Headley Brothers, London, at 1s. net, under the title, *The Nature and Purpose of a Christian Society*. There was a large attendance of Friends and others when the lecture was delivered, but some present have since expressed surprise at both the lecturer and the lecture. It is not easy to understand why a non-Friend should be chosen to lecture, nor why his theme should not directly concern either the history or principles of Quakerism—there are many subjects of direct Quaker interest and Friends who can adequately deal with them. A *résumé* of the lecture appears in "The Friend" (London) for May 24th.

John William Graham's book, *Evolution and Empire*, is now out (London: Headley, 7½ by 5, pp. 222, 2s. 6d. net). In his preface, the author states that "the nucleus of the following chapters was read as a paper to the First Universal Peace Congress, held at Westminster Town Hall in 1890 . . . Such ideas were new and unacceptable in the Peace movement then. Of late years, these ideas have become part of the texture of current thought." To those who do not know our friend, it may come as a surprise that he is described as "Author of 'The Destruction of Daylight'"!—they will be relieved to find that the aim of this latter book was nothing worse than the abatement of the smoke nuisance!

The value of the many services rendered by Friends in the cause of local government is exemplified in the Report to the Ulverston Rural District Council, for the year ending March, 1912, written by our friend, William Richardson Nash, J.P., chairman of the Council. The pamphlet deals with Officers, Inspection of Villages, and Town Planning Act, Dairies and Cowsheds, Sewage and Removal of House Refuse, Deficit on Water

Supplies, Highways, Finance, etc. The life of such a public-spirited inhabitant is a "God-send" to any district. W. R. Nash, with remarkable energy for one of his advanced age, issues monthly *Cartmel District Weather and Farming Notes*. The copy before me is dated "May (Fifth Month), 1912."

At the expense of London Yearly Meeting a translation of "The Society of Friends, Its Faith and Practice," by the late John S. Rowntree, has been printed in French and published at the Librairie J. H. Jeheber in Geneva, and the Librairie Fischbacher in Paris, at the price of a franc. The translator is Madeleine Savary, a Friend living at Guildford. Copies of this 111-page book can be obtained from Headley Brothers at one shilling each. Special terms for distribution may be obtained from the Central Offices of Friends at Devonshire House, London, E.C., per the Librarian. Some of the French equivalents used are interesting, as, *e.g.*, Doyens for Elders; also the "Avis Généraux" and "Questions Générales" look curious in their French dress, the concluding portion of Query 3 appearing as "Cultivez-vous un esprit de pardon? Etes-vous soucieux de la réputation d'autrui? Evitez-vous et découragez-vous les bavardages et le dénigrement?"

All interested in Quaker statistics should buy a copy of *Facts about Friends*, a Study of the Statistics of London and Dublin Yearly Meetings, 1861-1911, by Edward Harold Marsh (London: Headley, 7 by 5¼, pp. 47, 3d. This pamphlet traces the changes which have taken place in the Society of Friends in the last half century so far as they can be represented in figures and diagrams. Most of the information is derived from summaries of the tabular statements which appear in the Minutes and Proceedings of London and Dublin Yearly Meetings, but other sources are sometimes drawn upon. One diagram shows the thirty-one Yearly Meetings in the world with their grouping and approximate membership. Other diagrams show the increasing and changing membership of London Yearly Meeting, the position of woman in the Church, etc.; and some quite new facts are brought to light regarding marriage and the birth-rate among Friends.

A warm welcome to another issue of the *Bulletin of Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia* (Allen C. Thomas, A.M., Haverford, Pa., U.S.A.). This issue, dated Third Month, contains some specially interesting articles, as, *e.g.*, Anna B. Thomas on "The Beaconite Controversy"; Amelia M. Gummere contributes a letter from William Penn to the Princess Elizabeth, 1677, and that lady's reply, taken from an autograph copy in the Howland Collection at Haverford College; Rayner W. Kelsey writes on the Planting of Pacific Coast Quakerism, and Charles F. Coffin on Anti-Slavery Friends. Other portions of this publication are referred to elsewhere (see page 155).

NORMAN PENNEY.

"The Dying Words of Ockanickon."

On the 11th of June, a portion of the Huth Library was sold at the rooms of Sotheby & Co., of Strand, London. Among the items was a copy of John Cripps's *True Account of the Dying Words of Ockanickon*,[1] printed in London in 1682. This ancient tract of but four quarto leaves was sold for £165!

A copy of this tract is preserved in D. The advice given being both interesting and profitable, we venture to reprint the tract, with facsimiles of the first and last pages.

1

[See opposite].

2

[Blank].

3

A LETTER sent from *New-Jersey* in *America* to a Friend in *London*.

Dear Friend,

I *Having this short opportunity, have nothing to present thee with but the Dying Words of an* Indian *King, who died in* Burlington, *and was Buried amongst Friends according to his desire; and at his Burial many Tears were shed both by the* Indians *and* English; *if thou art willing to Print it, I desire thee to send me some; So in Love and great hast, I rest thy friend,*

John Cripps.[2]

Burlington, *the 12th of the 5th. Month*, 1682.

[1] For Ockanickon, one of the Indian Kings of New Jersey, see THE JOURNAL, ix. 48. Thomas Budd writes in his *Good Order Established in Pennsilvania & New-Jersey*, tract in D., dated 1685, p. 28,

"We had several Meetings with the *Indians*, one was in order to put down the sale of *Rum, Brandy*, and other strong Liquors to them . . . at which time there were eight Kings (& many other *Indians*) one of the [*sic*] was *Ockanickon*. The *Indian* Kings sate on a Form, and we sate on another over against them."

See also Samuel Smith's *History of New-Jersey*, 1765, pp. 101, 148-150, where it is stated that "this King was attended to his grave with solemnity by the Indians in their manner, and with great respect by many of the English settlers; to whom he had been a sure friend."

[2] John Cripps emigrated to New Jersey in 1677, and announced his arrival and that of his wife and family in a letter to Henry Stacey (*Abstract or Abbreviation*, 1681, see *The Friend* (Phila.), vol. 78, p. 52, and Clement's *New Jersey Settlers*, 1877, p. 278.

A TRUE

ACCOUNT

OF THE

Dying Words

OF

Ockanickon,

AN

Indian King,

Spoken to

JAHKURSOE,

His Brother's Son, whom he appointed

KING

AFTER HIM.

LONDON,

Printed for *Benjamin Clark*, Bookseller, in *George-Yard* in *Lombard-street*, 1682.

Photo by H. G. Summerhayes.] [See page 164.

4

[Blank].

5

A True/Account/of the Dying Words of/Ockanichon,/Spoken to/Jahkursoe,/Whom/He appointed King after Him; Spoken in the Presence of several, who were Eye and Ear Witnesses to the Truth thereof.

IT was my desire that *My Brother's Son, Jahkursoe* should be sent for to come to me to hear my *last Words*, whom I have appointed King after me. *My Brother's Son*, This day I deliver my Heart into thy Bosom, and would have thee love that which is

6

Good, and to keep *good Company*, and to refuse that which is *Evil*; and to avoid *bad Company*. Now inasmuch as I have delivered my Heart into thy Bosom, I also deliver my Bosom to keep my Heart therein; therefore alwaies be sure to walk in a *good Path*, and never depart out of it. And if any *Indians* should speak any evil of *Indians* or *Christians*, do not joyn with it, but to look to that which is *Good*, and to joyn with the same alwaies. Look at the Sun from the Rising of it to the Setting of the same. In Speeches that shall be made between the *Indians* and the *Christians*, if any thing be spoke that is evil, do not joyn with that, but joyn with that which is good; and when Speeches are made, do not thou speak first, but let all speak before thee, and take good notice what each man speaks, and when thou hast heard all, joyn to that which is good. *Brother's Son*, I would have thee to *cleanse* thy *Ears*, and take all *Darkness* and *foulness* out, that thou maist take notice of that which is *Good* and *Evil*, and then to joyn with that which is *Good*, and refuse the *Evil*; and also to cleanse

7

thy *Eyes* that thou maist see both *Good* and *Evil*: and if thou see any *Evil* do not joyn with it, but joyn to that which is *Good Brother's Son*, Thou hast heard all that is past: now I would have thee to stand up in time of *Speeches*, and to stand in my *Steps*, and follow my *Speeches* as I have said before thee, then what thou dost desire in *Reason* will be granted thee. Why should thou not *follow* my *Example* inasmuch as I have had a mind to do that which is *Good*, and therefore do thou also the same. Whereas *Sehoppy* and *Swanpis* were appointed Kings by me in my stead, and I understanding by my Doctor that *Sehoppy* secretly advised him not to Cure me, and they both being with me at *John Hollingsheads* House, there I my self see by them that they were given more to *Drink* than to take notice of my *last Words*, for I had a mind to make a Speech to them, and to my *Brethren* the *English Commissioners*, therefore I refused them to be Kings after me in my stead, and have chosen my Brother's Son *Jahkursoe* in their stead to succeed me.

8

Brother's Son,

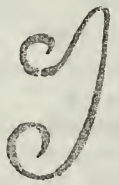
I desire thee to be plain and fair with all both *Indians* and *Christians*, as I have been. I am very weak, otherwise I would have spoken more; and in Testimony of the *Truth* of this, I have hereunto set my Hand in the presence of us,

Witneſſes,

Thomas Budd,
Sarah Biddle,
Mary Cripps,
Anne Browne,
Jane Noble.

An imitation of the *Indian* Marks,

The Mark of *Ockanickon*, King, now deceaſed.



The Mark of *Jahkurſoe*, the intended King.

The Mark of *Matollionequay*, Wife to *Ockanickon* the Old King.

The Mark of *Nemooponent*, a Prince.

The Mark of *Tellinggreiſee*, the *Indian* Doctor.

Henry Jacobs Falckinburs,[3] Interpreter.

FINIS.

[3] This name appears as *Falckinbery* in *Good Order*.

Officers for the Year 1912-1913.

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1905-6. WILLIAM CHARLES BRAITHWAITE, B.A., LL.B.
1906-7. FRANCIS C. CLAYTON, J.P.
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1908-9. JOSEPH JOSHUA GREEN.
1909-10. FREDERICK G. CASH.
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FRIENDS' HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Income and Expenditure Account for the Year ending 31st of Twelfth Month, 1911.

INCOME.	£	s.	d.
Balance in hand	29	1	8
Annual Subscriptions	94	13	9
Sundry Sales	10	7	9
Contributions to Supplement No. 9, "State Papers," second series ..	28	16	11
50 per cent. of guarantee on Supplements	22	10	0
Interest on deposit	1	6	5
	£186	16	6

EXPENDITURE.	£	s.	d.
Cost of Printing *Journal*, Vol. VIII.	82	19	3
Postage for *Journal*, Vol. VIII. ..	10	10	0
Stationery	2	15	6
Sundries and Insurance	2	13	5
Cost of Printing Supplement No. 9, "State Papers," second series ..	46	19	0
Postage of Supplement No. 9 ..	3	0	0
Balance in hand, 31 xii. 1911 ..	37	19	4
	£186	16	6

Attention should be drawn to the fact that, while the total income this year, on account of *Journal* and *Supplement* together, exceeds the expenditure, yet, that the issue of the *Supplement* can only be maintained either by a continuance of the guarantee kindly contributed by a few Friends, or else by additional subscriptions equivalent to same.

Signed, GEORGE BENINGTON,
Treasurer.

12th of Third Month, 1912.

Vol. IX. No. 4. Tenth Month (October), 1912.

THE JOURNAL
OF THE
FRIENDS' HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

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D.=The Reference Library of London Yearly Meeting, Devonshire House, Bishopsgate, London, E.C.

F.P.T.="*The First Publishers of Truth*," published by the Friends' Historical Society, 1907.

Camb. *Jnl.*=*The Journal of George Fox*, published by the Cambridge University Press, 1911.

Ell. *Jnl.*=*The Journal of George Fox*, edited by Thomas Ellwood, 1694.

Notice.

For an article on "Supplement No. 10," written by Alexander Gordon, M.A., contributor of *George Fox* to the *Dictionary of National Biography*, see page 199.

Notes and Queries.

Our readers are invited to assist in replying to the Queries appearing from time to time in these columns. We shall also welcome short paragraphs on historical and bibliographical subjects of Quaker interest.

"The Universal Friend's Advice."—A curious eight-page tract has recently been added to the Devonshire House collection, entitled, "*The Universal Friend's Advice, to those of the same Religious Society. Recommended to be read in their Public Meetings for Divine Worship.* Penn-Yan, [New York State] Printed by A. H. Bennett, at the Democrat Office, 1833.

The preface, signed C. M., consists mainly of Scripture. The burden of the writer appears to be the need of an orderly observance of public worship, but he also addresses Parents, Children, Masters, and Servants.

Is more known of either writer or tract?

[John Cox, Jun., of New York City, writes: "I have not hitherto heard of the pamphlet. There was no Meeting at or near Penn Yan, which is in Yates Co., N.Y. From what I can learn from an elderly Friend in that region, Caleb Macomber was doubtless the author. See a sidelight on his character in *Memories of Sunderland P. Gardner*, a Hicksite minister of note (1802-1893): "Caleb Macomber was the only minister so far as I recollect in Farmington Monthly Meeting [c. 1814], and had great influence in transacting the business of the Society; great deference was paid to his judgment, and matters were generally disposed of according to his choice or direction. I think that the implicit submission to his views eventually proved a serious injury to him, and a disadvantage to Friends, yet I believe he was at that time a minister of the gospel" (page 15).]

Friends in Fiction.—The events narrated in *A Day of Fate*, by Edward Payson Roe (1838-1888), published N.Y. 1880, centre in a Quaker household in New York State.

There are a few references to early Quaker preachers in Cumberland in Hall Caine's *Shadow of a Crime*. It is curious to read in the latter book of Quakers at an open-air meeting singing hymns "in a chaunting measure, with a chorus that danced to a spirit of joyfulness" (chap. xl.), and, "a simple Quaker hymn—

'Though your sins be red as scarlet,
He shall wash them white as wool.'"

(chap. xliv.)

Laura S. Haviland.—What was the exact date and the place of death of Laura S. Haviland?

John Langstaff.—One of the early Friends in Durham County was John Langstaff, who was convinced at a meeting at Rampshaw Hall, with others, at which James Nayler was present, in 1653. It is

said that one of the early meetings was held for a time at J. L.'s house. Can any reader confirm this, or name the residence?—JOHN W. STEEL, Darlington.

FRANCIS HOWGILL AND APPLEBY JAIL.—Ernest E. Taylor has sent us a photograph of the lock and key of the prison on the old bridge at Appleby, in which Francis Howgill died, A.D. 1668/9. He writes, "The chain of evidence is not complete, but the late Charles Thompson, of Morland, was absolutely certain that the lock and key were authentic."

INDEX TO BOWDEN'S "FRIENDS IN AMERICA."—The value of this book as a work of reference has ever been lessened for lack of an index. This want has now been supplied by Evelyn Roberts, of London, who has prepared and presented to D. a full index, containing some 3,400 entries.

CAREY — CAREW. — In 1655 George Fox was at the house of Robert Carey in Plymouth and there met Elizabeth Trelawney. Was Robert Carey connected with the family of Pole Carew? *Carew* used to be pronounced *Carey*, and perhaps is so still, especially in Cornwall. The seats of the families of Trelawney at Coldrenick and Carew at Anthony would be barely ten miles apart.—ALFRED P. BALKWILL, Lydgate, Princetown, Devon.

KNELLER AND MRS. VOSS.—In a recent sale catalogue of pictures there is the following entry:—"Voss (Miss—Daughter of Kneller the painter and Mrs. Voss, wife of a quaker in Austin Friars). . . . Mezzotint by J. Smith after Kneller, 1705." Is there any foundation for this reference to Friends?

[The following appears in the account of Sir Godfrey Kneller (1646-1723) in *D.N.B.*:—"Early in life, according to some accounts before he left his native land [Germany], he had a mistress, a Mrs. Vos, who is stated elsewhere to have been the wife of a Quaker in Austinfriars, and to have served him as a model. By her he had an illegitimate daughter, Agnes." In the beginning of Quakerism in London there lived, in Basinghall Street, a man named Samuel Vosse (Vasse, Vaux), at whose house meetings were held. See Camb. *Jnl.* He died in 1696, and the Burial Registers give his name—"Samuel Voss, *senior*." Basinghall Street is in the neighbourhood of Austin Friars. There are no further particulars at hand respecting this family.—ED.]

WEARING HATS IN CHURCH.—One of the panels in the title page of the "*Didactica opera omnia*" of J. A. Comenius [*i.e.* Komensky], published at Amsterdam in 1657, contains a picture of a man in a pulpit, who wears his hat, and is addressing a congregation all of whom are equally covered.—WILLIAM E. A. AXON, 42, Richmond Grove, Manchester.

"HAT WORSHIP."—That the dislike to "hat worship" was not confined to Friends may be gathered from a Welsh ballad

which has been printed in the "Journal of the Welsh Folk-Music Society."

The English version runs thus:

One day a learned bishop,
In measured voice and deep,
Pronounced the benediction
Above his gathered sheep;
And listening with attention
To what his Lordship said,
He noticed there a peasant,
His hat upon his head.

The Bishop when he saw him,
In anger did call out,
"Now there, while I am speaking,
Take off thy hat, thou lout!"
"I won't," the peasant answered,
"The merit must be small
Of words that will not enter
The brain through hat and all."

The Welsh text will be found in the publication, already named, of the Welsh Folk-Music Society, which is doing so much good work in the gathering and recording of the fast-fading melodies of the people.—WILLIAM E. A. AXON, Manchester.

DAVID FALCONAR (viii. 42 n.).—The date when David Barclay appointed David Falconar his factor should be 25th of Tenth Month, 1666. The "him" on the ninth line refers to D. Falconar, not to his son, John.—W. F. MILLER.

THOMAS CLARKSON.—Can any reader inform us of the name of the mother of Thomas Clarkson?

JOHN ROBERTSON AND WILLIAM JAMESON (vii. 105).—Dr. W. A. Macnaughton, of Stonehaven, writes:—

"It is apparent that Robertson's 'Mad Priest' was Professor William Jameson, Lecturer on History, Glasgow University—born blind—educated at the University—attained to great learning—became well-skilled in history, both civil and ecclesiastic. On 30th May, 1692, the Senate, taking into consideration the blindness and great learning of Jameson, who had no estate to live by, allowed him 200 merks Scots for two years, for which he was to give instruction according to his capacity in civil and ecclesiastical history. Jameson published at Edinburgh in 1689 '*Verus Patroclus; or The Weapons of Quakerism, The Weakness of Quakerism.*' I have extracted the above notes from the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Later he wrote a number of pamphlets violently upholding the Presbyterian view as opposed to Episcopal Church government, and, though blind, he must have been a great controversialist."

Dr. Macnaughton adds:—"There is a notice of John Robertson in *Scottish Notes and Queries*, xi. 22, in which the writer remarks:—'It is difficult to decide which of the parties to this theological discussion bears the palm for the employment of abusive epithets. Robertson's title pages alone contain enough libel to frame a strong criminal indictment. Although Robertson describes himself as an Agriculturalist, his knowledge of classical language and acquaintance with the ancient literature of Greece and Rome were gained at Marischel

College, which he entered in 1668. His works are written in vigorous English, garnished with Scottish idiom, strengthened by the most powerful arguments from Barclay's *Apology*.' "—W. F. MILLER.

DANIEL QUARE AND THE BAROMETER.—In the course of some recent investigations into the early history of the barometer I have come across the mention of the name of "Mr. Quare," and I am interested to know whether this would be the Quaker horologist, Daniel Quare. Towards the close of the seventeenth century much work was done in determining the exact relation between the height of the barometer and its elevation above sea level. The astronomer Halley ascended Snowdon several times with that object in view, and in a communication to the Royal Society, a Mr. W. Derham says he ascended the Monument in September, 1696, with one of "Mr. Quare's" "best portable barometers." This was, of course, long before the invention by Vidi of the Aneroid, and one can understand the inconvenience entailed in carrying about a mercurial barometer in any form.

In another communication the same writer describes Quare's device for preventing the oscillation of the mercury when moving the instrument. To attain this purpose the stem was "pinched" or greatly contracted near the top.

Could anyone inform me whether Daniel Quare was a barometer maker, and, if so, whether it is generally known that he was the inventor of a special portable instrument?—WILFRED IRWIN, Derwent Lodge, Cockermouth.

QUAKERS INCREASING.—A paragraph headed "Quakers Increasing" has been going the round of many papers, since first set going at Manchester Y.M. Durrant's Press Cutting Agency has sent it to Devonshire House from papers such as *The Christian World*, *The Christian*, *Westminster Gazette*, *Oldham Evening Chronicle*, *Bristol Evening News*, *Shields Daily Gazette* and *Christian Age*.

The paragraph is as follows:

"While so many of the Churches are deploring a falling off in membership, the Society of Friends in this country has been increasing for many years past, and now, for the first time in many generations, the increase is at a greater rate than that of the general population. During the last decade the population advanced by 10.9 per cent., while the increase in the membership of the Society of Friends was 13 per cent. There is a considerable excess of women over men in the membership, and the proportion of women shows a tendency to increase. The figures relating to marriages indicate that Friends marry outside more often than otherwise, and that considerably less than half the mixed marriages are solemnized in accordance with the usages of the Society."

GEORGE IV. AND FRIENDS.—A year or two before our Friend Ann Hunt of Bristol passed away, I called on her and among other interesting reminiscences she told me that she first attended Yearly Meeting in 1830, and that during one of the sittings the Duchess of Gloucester drove down to Devon-

shire House and had William Allen and Elizabeth Fry called out, and informed them that the King being in great extremity both in mind and body desired the prayers of Friends. This request was communicated to both the Men's and Women's Meetings, and the business being suspended, each meeting became a Meeting for Worship during the rest of the sitting. Friends were requested not to speak of it out of meeting. Is there any record of this in the Minutes of 1830 or can any Friend confirm or give further information?—THOMAS DAVIDSON, Fritchley, Derby.

"EDUCATED IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND."—Does this phrase imply an education *for the ministry* in the Church of England? It is used of Roger Prichard in *F.P.T.* (p. 113), and we know that he became a clergyman.

[We are on the look-out for the recurrence of the above phrase, but have not yet met it elsewhere. Meanwhile, we note that in the account of John Hall, of Skipton, written by his son, David Hall (1683-1756), it is stated, "His parents carefully educated him in the national way of worship of those commonly called Episcopalians, or the Church of England," but that "At the age of fourteen years [A.D. 1651], he was bound apprentice for seven years to a taylor."—ED.]

THE EJECTMENT OF 1662.—The lady of a country squire was dangerously ill. The clergyman was sent for, but returned word that "he was going out with the hounds, and would come when the hunt was over." "Sir," said one of the servants, "our shepherd, if you will send for him, can pray very well; we have often heard him pray in the field." The shepherd was immediately summoned to the side of the sufferer, and prayed with such astonishing pertinacity and fervour, that when he rose from his knees, the gentleman said to him, "I conjure you to inform me who and what you are, and what were your views and situation in life before you came into my service." Upon which he told him that he was one of the ministers ejected [1662] from the Church, and that having nothing of his own left he was content for a livelihood to submit to the honest and peaceful employment of keeping sheep. The good man (Peter Ince) was an Oxford M.A. In better days he had been noted as a Hebraist, and had been much revered by his brethren for his varied excellencies of mind and life.—Quoted in *The Great Ejectment of 1662*, by Benjamin A. Millard, 1911, p. 72. See also Palmer's *Nonconformist Memorial*, 1803, iii., 363.

STATISTICS OF SUFFERINGS.—The penalties inflicted in fines, etc., from the Restoration to the Revolution, 1660-1688, amounted to twelve or fourteen millions sterling. It is estimated that during that period about sixty thousand persons suffered in one way or another on account of religion, while five thousand are said to have suffered death in prison as the result of their privations.—Neal, *Hist. of the Puritans.*

Thirnbeck Manuscripts.

Concluded from page 145.

XXI.

William Penn to Margaret Fox, 1690/1.

This announcement of the death of George Fox, sent to his widow, is printed in *Fells* (p. 362). There are several short omissions and the names *Vaughan* and *Rich* should be *Vaughton* and *Field*.

XXII.

Robert Barrow to Henry Coward and others, 1690/1.

This valuable letter has been several times printed. See Camb. *Jnl.* ii. 495. The original is dated 16th of Eleventh Month, 1690.

XXIII.

Thomas Lower to Margaret Fox, 1693.

We do not remember to have seen this most interesting letter in print before.

Thomas and Mary Lower and children were, apparently, in London at this time. Their Northern residence was Marsh Grange, near Swarthmoor Hall, but they may also have had a London house.

London this 2d off ye 10th 93.

Deare & honored Mother

Thine off ye 27th off ye last J haue : & wee are glad to heare off all yr welfare : wch mercy wee all alsoe Jnjoy heere blessed & for euer praised be ye holy name off ye Lorde whoe is ye author & giuer off it : glory & thankes be ffor euer giuen vnto him : & J hope & trust Jtt will neuer be forgotten by vs nor ours whilst they haue a beinge :

My children are all now recouered out of there late JIlnesse : & haue taken frequent purges to Carry off ye remainders off yt distemper : & all thinges yt hath beene giuen vnto them hath beene blesst : & made effectuall

vnto the ende ffor ye wch Jtt was giuen ym: praised be ye Lorde for it & all other his Jnnumerable mercyes & favors euery way towards vs:

All our other realations alsoe heere & heereaways are all Jn good health blessed be ye Lorde: & yesterday my brother Rouse[119] & his son[120] & daughter Anne[121] went downe to graues ende & as wee heare by ye returne of ye boatemen they all arriued there well ye last night: my Cousen[122] & his sister returnes againe ye 2d day: & my brother goes forwarde Jn his Jntended voyage for Barbadoes[123]: wee Coulde none of vs accompany him: through other vrgent occasions Jnterveneinge: & wee must haue parted at last had wee gonne to ye Downes with him: hee was not very well when hee went away: but heare hee mended before hee Came to graues ende:

Yesterday att bull & mouth meetinge appeared Will: Penn: his pardon beinge graunted some days before as Ld Brandon[124] tolde mee before of it whoe vows ye man yt[125] obtained it ffrom ye Kinge togeather with Secretary Trencharde[126]: & yt hee had promised to be seruiceable to ye Gouerment for ye future & to demeritt this favor ffrom ye Kinge: whoe had beene soe mercifull & gratious to him: ffreindes thought hee woulde ffirst haue appeared amongst ym & haue giuen ym some satisfaction priuately touchinge the scandall brought vpon truth & freindes by his longe abscondinge & ye matters layde to his charge & not to haue appeared Jn ye offringe of his gift before hee had beene reconciled to ym hee had giuen offence vnto:

[119] For John Rous, see Camb. *Jnl.*

[120] This was Nathaniel (1670-1717), the only son to arrive at manhood. He married Hannah Woods in 1696 and had children.

[121] According to William Benson's genealogical chart of the Fell family (*British Friend*, 1845, p. 168), Anne, daughter of John and Margaret Rous, "died young," but there are not any dates given. Nathaniel and Anne are mentioned in other letters of the period (*Fells*, pp. 387, 388).

[122] That is, nephew.

[123] From which, it seems, he never returned home (*Fells*, p. 386).

[124] Charles, first baron Gerard of Brandon and Earl of Macclesfield (d. 1694). (*D.N.B.*)

[125] The reading is not clear. There are strokes across the "yt" which may imply an intended excision of the word. If the "yt" was a slip of the pen and should be omitted, "ye man" would refer to Penn.

[126] Sir John Trencharde (1640-1695), Secretary of State. (*D.N.B.*)

but his appearinge first to preach Jn a publicke meetinge before reconciliation lookes to trivmphant : & high : & Js not well resented amongst some ffreindes heere.

Wee are laborrine with ye parlament to gett our yea & nea taken Jnsteade of an oath : ye Jssue whereof wee leaue vnto ye Lorde.[127]

And as touchinge ye yorkesheere Man J formerly writt off J am not mistaken : for J went this day of purpose to aske of my brother Jngram about him whoe was ye Man yt did detect him & brought him to publicke shame & a Certificate is sent ffrom there mothly meetinge to make manifest his dishonesty : & falsenesse. As to Will : Warren[128] yt L : ff :[129] speakes off : hee had his liberty of publishinge his prophesÿes as much & as often as hee pleased : & hee is since marryed heere to a younge lasse a freinds daughter of this Citty where hee is Come to dwell : & J heare is now sorry of some of his saÿinges or prophesÿes : wch was that hee must make hast home then from London for feare ye french shoulde be landed heere before hee Coulde returne againe but hee is returned againe & since marrÿed & noe ffrench yett landed wch turnes to his Creditt And what ye others prophesyes may doe time will manifest : not but yt J thinke Calamity attends this nation : but J doe beleiue ye Lorde will spare those yt serues & feares him :

As to ye disorders att Marsh grange my wiffe when shee Comes downe will take care to mende what she can : & what cannott be cured must be Jndured :

[127] The Toleration Act, 1689 (1 W. and M. c. 18) permitted Friends to affirm their allegiance to the Throne. This Act was extended by St. 7 and 8 Wm III. c. 34 (1695) (the result of the labours here mentioned), providing great relief to Friends, although to some of them the form of affirmation appeared to exceed the "yea, yea, and nay, nay." See *Quaker Post Bag*, 1910, p. 49.

[128] The London Registers inform us that William Warren, of Scarborough, mariner, son of Valentine Warren, of Castleford, Yorks, married, 7 ix. 1693, Frances, daughter of Clement Plumsted, of London. There is a record in the "Whitby, Staintondale and Scarborough Register" (MS. in D.) of the marriage of a William Warren of Scarborough, mariner, with Rachel Luck, of the same place, at the house of Peter Hodgson in Scarborough, 25 x. 1670. Rachel Warren died in 1691. A letter from "our Yearly Meeting held at Whitbey," 29 iii. 1694, contains, among other signatures, those of "Mary Plumsted" and "Frances Warren," which makes it appear as if the Warrens had removed into Yorkshire accompanied by a member of the Plumsted family.

We do not know more respecting William Warren's "prophesyes."

[129] That is, Leonard Fell.

Wee are glad to heare of my sisters breedinge : wch is lesse strange to mee then her not breedinge sooner[130] : soe haueinge litle more but ye remembrans of mine & my wiffes & childrens deare loue vnto thee & to my brother & sister Abrahams & Cousens & to freinds yt may enquire after vs : is most at present ffrom

Thy euer dearely loueinge son

THO : LOWER.

My Cousen ffell[131] & his brother Greaues[132] were Jn tounde ye last weeke : ye former came to see vs : but not his brother : his wiffe[133] is againe with childe neere her time but come away from his brother Greaues to a Cousens house of his wiffes to liue.

[Endorsement]

ffor Daniell Abrahams att
Swarthmoore these ffor M : ff :
to be sent ffrom ye
post office Jn
Lancaster.

XXIV.

[RACHEL ABRAHAM] TO MARY LOWER [c. 1701].

This letter is unsigned and undated, but the writing is that of Rachel Abraham, and the general style confirms

[130] The only two sisters-in-law of Thomas Lower to whom this could, presumbly, refer were Isabel and Susanna. (i) Isabel married, in 1664, William Yeamans and had several children. In 1689, at the age of about forty-seven, after having been a widow about fifteen years, she married Abraham Morris, of Lincoln. (ii) Susanna married William Ingram of London, in 1691, at the age of about forty. A letter from Margaret Fox to Sarah Meade, written 11 x. 1693, a few days subsequent to Thomas Lower's letter, alludes to Susanna Ingram in a way which makes it unlikely that the above reference was to her.

In neither case has any record of birth been discovered.

[131] Cousin = nephew. Charles Fell is intended—only son of George Fell, who was only son of Judge Fell (Camb. *Jnl.*).

[132] Charles Fell's only sister, Isabella, married James Graves.

[133] Charles Fell married Mary, daughter of John Brown, of Spelmonden, Kent. Maria Webb states that Charles Fell "died early, leaving a young widow with an only son, also named Charles" (*Fells*, p. 407). This second Charles, born c. 1693, married Gulielma Maria (Penn) Thomas, granddaughter of William Penn the Founder (Camb. *Jnl.*).

the statement made on page 138. She refers to a lawsuit which had been decided in favour of herself and friends, and to the helpful part taken therein by Thomas Lower. The date of the communication was about 1701.

D Sis lower

thy Deare leter J most gladly Reced last ffift Day wherby J understod of thy Returne from Cousen Swan[134] of whose Recouery togergr with her Deare Babeth welbeing J am truly glad of & Deare sister the most unspeakabell Care & prudend manidgment my Dear Bro : Lower hath taken in this shutt [suit] & tryell[135] with woods is meny times to my admerataty to think any person in wholl world would hau done so much for any Rellation for J am uery senceball his care & manidgettmen was greater many ffould then my huspand could hau taken in it if hee had bene & J doe Relly beeleve was much more then if it had bene my Brother owne Consarne J am shuer hee hath answered my Deare Mother Desier to the ffull for shee woulld many times say shee hopted her sonn Lowr would take care of it & manidgid for shee Knewe my husband was not aman ffitt for shuch things & her Desiers in this mater is ffully answered : Bllesed bee the lord for truly if the tryall had gone otherwise it would hav bene hard for us to haue Continued hear for the Woodburns[136] & a Deall of wicked peoplle to would haue had this Estatt sqandered amongst them if so combinded together that if they coulld haue there Ends aboutt they would still Endeuer it but this tryell going contrary to ther minds it mightally collse[?] them : Jo Enmonson was hear yesterday & tould us yourg gibson was com Downe & had tould him wee had goott the [*paper torn*] tryell but woull make it as well as hee coull Jo : Edmonson mad an a[p]pollidge for him

[134] Cousin = niece. Loveday, daughter of Thomas and Mary Lower, married William Swan, of Halstead, Essex, in 1699. (Maria Webb gives the date, 1690, but the London Registers record the marriage 6 xii. 1699.) There were two sons, William and Thomas (Webb, *Fells*, p. 368).

[135] In chapter xxix. of *Fells* (second English and American edd. only) there are references—1699-1701—to "expensive law proceedings and much perplexity to the family," to which this letter also, doubtless, refers.

[136] In a letter from G. Fox to his wife, in 1681, there is mention of "M. Woodburn," who broke into the barns at Swarthmoor, seized corn and drove away cattle (*Fells*, p. 349).

selfe that hee should bee a comisnisher for woods & sad hee coull not helpe it being hee was chush by the Cortt but Kneue well whatt wood was & seed to bee glad & sad Dotcher Lower was a most manidging man & had great Jntrestt & that hee should thus far prockuer my Husbans liberty was a great mater.

This letter is written on the inside of the sheet on which no. xxiii. was penned. It is difficult to give a reason for its position. It looks like a draft epistle, being without either place of writing, date or signature.

XXV.

Sarah Meade to Margaret Fox, 1694.

We do not find any record of this letter having been previously in print—a chatty communication between daughter and mother, interspersed with the expression of earnest spiritual desire.

Gooses[137] ye 18th of ye 2d moth 1694 :
Deare & Honoured Mother

Haueinge the Conveniency, to send this, by the bearer, doe hereby giue thee my duty and deare Respects, being greatly Refreshed and comforted in the particular Acct shee gaue us, of thee & thy welbeing and of thy continueinge soe chearfull & hearty consideringe thy years, wch giues us occasion to blesse the Lord, for his great goodness, and Continued preservation to thee ; wch is to the Joy and comfort of all thy Children; also the account wee had, of Brother & sistr Abraham & their Children,[138] did much glad our hearts ;—And sistrs time being pretty neare,[139] wee are not wantinge in earnest supplications to the great God in her behalfe, who is ye deliuerer & helpe

[137] The estate of Gooseyes was situated near Romford in Essex ; part of the house still stands.

[138] Daniel and Rachel Abraham had three children, according to the Lancashire Registers—Margaret (b. 1685, d. 1686), John (b. 1687, d. 1771), and Thomas (b. 1689, d. 1695), the two last-named being the children here mentioned.

[139] There is no record of any child of Daniel and Rachel Abraham born in 1694.

of all his Children, in euery needfull time and neuer failes those who putts their trust & confidence in him;—and will I doubt not, be gratiously pleased, to afford her, his helping hand, who is all sufficient:—wee shall bee glad to heare how it is with her.—And Dr Mother wee are all well here euery way, praised bee ye Lord, (as this ffriende cann informe thee, who came downe to Gooses to see us, and was at our Meettinge) and truely wee haue cause to say, the Lord is uery good & gratious to us, & affords us his blessed & sweett presence, in our litle Country Meettinges, to the comforting & Refreshinge of our soules;—And our gratious God is very universall & large in his mercies, in Generall, for it is & hath been a sweett & fruitfull springe, as hath been knowne this seuerall yeares, in these parts:—wch is A Confirmation that his mercifull hand is still Extended in Loue & goodwill, to the Creation, the workes of his hands;—Notwithstandinge the forward speeches, of some froward brittle spiritted men, who doth not rightly know their owne spiritts;—But God is the same as euer hee was & changes not, his wayes are not as mans ways, nor his thoughts as mans thoughts, but is abundant in mercy and Loueingkindness;—ffor ye Lord will not forsake his people, for his great names sake, neither will hee forsake his Jnheritance;—But will giue strength unto his people, & will blesse them with peace Psal: 29: 11:—Therefore, it behooues us, and a cry runns thorrow the hearts of the ffaithfull, that all ye Lords people may bee kept Low & humble before him, and kept neare him, in atrue sence of his goodness and mercies to us euery way, with thankefull hearts to him;—Soe may wee Expect the Continuance of his goodness to us,—and that none may bee Num or unsencible, or like ye barren heath that knows not when good comes; But that wee may bee a thankefull, sencible people, with which the Lord is well pleased. This [day reaches us[140]] the good Newes of Bro: Rous his safe arrivall in Barbados;[141] for which my heart & soule returnes hearty thanks to the Lord;—Who is the Preseruer of his people, at sea & at Land, & thorrow many dangers and difficulties;—wch will be Joyfull newes,

[140] The sheet is torn here and the wording is not clear.

[141] See page 176.

to his poore wife, who was in much Concerne for him.—all our Relations in these parts, are well, (for any thinge J know) Bro: Lower is fallen into Considerable practise, & is like to doe good service to many, (ye Lord giueing him success,) and wch will also bee of service to his owne family. Cousin William Yeamans[142] is like to have a good Trade;—And my Dr Husband failes not to continue like a ffather to him, in his constant care & assistance, of wch the younge man is uery sencible; & J hope will grow in sobriety, wch will bee a comfort to all his Relations.—Sistr Jngram is now here, & hath been here some dayes, to bee in ye Country aire, her Husband thinks to come downe tomorrow;—they are both well;—and truely they liue in much loue & tenderness to each other; wch much rejoyces my heart;—Hee is a tender spirited man;—and tender of the Lord his Truth & hoñour;—and it greiues him, to see any ffriend, appeare in any thinge, yt is out of ye spiritt of Truth. hee writt to his wife, (wch shee Receiued this day) yt hee had Recd a lettr last post from Bro: Abraham, giueing an Acct of all your welfare at Swarthmore,—wch wee are uery glad to heare.—and soe Dr Mother haueing beene more large then J intended, J shall conclude;—with ye Rememberance of my Dr Husbands duty, & mine to thee, with Sistr Jngrams, & Nathanaells[143] and Richards;[144] with all our deare & tendr Loue, to Bro: & Sistr Abraham & their Children.—J Remaine, who am

Thy truely Loueinge and
dutifull daughter

S.M.

My Husband hath contracted with a friend to come into the House, to teach our sonn Nathanaell & his Cousin Richard[144] the frensh tongue; his name is Peter

[142] For Sarah Meade's nephew, William Yeamans (d. 1697), see Camb. *Jnl.*

[143] For Nathaniel, only child of William and Sarah Meade, see Camb. *Jnl.*

[144] That is, Richard Lower (b. 1681), son of Thomas Lower and first cousin of Nathaniel Meade.

Johan,[145] & is ye same man yt our Dr ffather advised us to, in his life time hee comes this weeke or next.

[Addressed]
To My Hoñoured Mother
Margarett Fox These deliuer
at Swarthmore in
Lancashire.

This is the original letter in Sarah Meade's writing. It occupies a page and a quarter of folio paper. The sheet has parted at several of the creases.

XXVI.

Margaret Rous to Margaret Fox, 1695.

This short letter is partly printed in *Fells* (p. 388). The omitted portion is as follows :

My Dear Bro : & sistr Abraham J hope will not take it amiss yt we desire alittle of thy company & yt is all J beleeu yt anyone hath in their eye in this thinge ; not seeking any thing yt is thine but to Jnjoy thee alittle if it pleas ye lord soe to order it.

This is *apropos* of a visit to London of the aged lady of Swarthmoor. The letter is addressed :

ffor Rachell Abra-
ham at Swarthmore
these
Leaue this wth Thomas
Green at Lancastr
to be sent as above
Lancashire.

XXVII.

Nathaniel Rous to Margaret Fox, 1700.

We believe that this letter is now printed for the first time. We now come to a letter of another genera-

[145] Peter Johan, or Jahan, is mentioned in Besse's *Sufferings* : "1682. In this year Peter Jahan, a Frenchman, was imprisoned at Northampton for refusing to pay towards the Repairs of the Steeple-house" (i. 540). The name, Peter Jahan, occurs also among those of Friends of Horsham in 1695 (The Journal, viii. 135).

tion and are introduced to a man of about thirty years old (Nathaniel Rous, 1670-1717), desirous of doing the right in some time of family trouble and dispute. We do not know why his first cousin, John Abraham, seventeen years his junior, should write of him as "pore" as well as "Dear."

London 28th 1th mo, 1700.

Dr & Honored Grand Mother

J some time since recd thine, wth ye Inclosed paper, relateing unto my Sisters[146] Portions, wch J shall carefully keep as a Testimony for ye justness of mine intentions towards ym, I hope ye Lord will close ye covetting Eye in them, & open ye Eye wch sees things as they are, & judges righteously—Mine Heart rejoiced at ye reading of itt, & ye Truth contained in it, was so cleere, yt I expected all further disputeings would haue been at an End. But I find Bror Dykes[146] continues in his old story, & told me he beleeved I had wrote something, wch occassioned ye papers Comeing—I haue none to trust in, but ye Lord alone, whose power & Mercy has supported me, through many other Difficultys, & my ffaith is will carry me thorow ys also—Though it is much more Excersiseing to find these dealeings from so neare relations then from others—the Lords will be Done. I had Advise from my Dr Mother from Colchester, Yesterday, yt Sister Dykes was brō : to Bed of a Daughter, & both then Like to Doe well.[147] My Deare Babe[148] through ye Lords goodness, thrives finely, and is a very fine child, ye Lord spare him for our Comfort, if it be his will—which wth mine & Wifes Duty thy Selfe & kind respects to Unckle & Aunt Abrams, & Cozn Desireing thy prayers may be continued for our preservation I rest—

Thy Dutifull Grd : Son,
NATH : ROUS.

[146] N. Rous's sisters were Bethiah, wife of David English, of Pontefract (*a quo* Hoyland of Sheffield and Waterford), Anne (d. 1709, aet. 38), wife of Benjamin Dykes and Margaret (who became [?] Manwaring, see Camb. *Jnl.*). The will of John Rous may be seen in THE JOURNAL, vol. iv.

[147] This was Anne, b. 24 i. 1700, d. 1718. Maria Webb tells us that Anne Dykes "left no child behind her who attained years of maturity" (*Fells*, p. 392).

[148] Nathaniel Rous married, 1696, Hannah (d. 1714), daughter of Caleb Woods, of Guildford. This child was Nathaniel, b. 17 ix. 1699.

This letter occupies one page. It is written in a good flowing hand. It is addressed:

To Margt Fox
att Swarthmore
Neare
Lancaster

and endorsed by John Abraham: "This is a Letter of my pore and Dear Cousin Nathanell Rous to my Dear and Honourd Grand Mother."

XXVIII.

Mary Lower to Margaret Fox [1701].

This long and chatty letter has been printed in part in *Fells* (pp. 401-403). The omitted portion here follows:—

J haue bene not uary well of late J think it is ye Janas but shall tack sume thing for it J had great experiance of ye goodness of ye Lord to mee & Loueday in her great Exersise & perrall in Childbearing wch J desier J may neuer forgitt; we had auary good sensabell letter from my sun Richard Lower ye last 4th day, wch we weare glad of we expect my sister Moris in toune this day weeke; ye last 3 day was Mary Lancishier that was Mary Webb of Kingston Daughter Maried to my Cousin Yeomans printas almost aboy.[149] Marabellow Thornbora[150] desiers & [*sic*] be Remembered to thee, she is my next nightbor & hath bene lamely in her foot ye feuer fell into it & she hath kept her Chamber J think aboue halfe ayeare; my Brother & sister Meade Coums to toune ons in to weeks mostly & goeth to see thear sun at ye tempell prety often but ye hasard of his contuning thear J think the[y]

[149] The Surrey Registers record that Mary Lancaster, of Kingston, married Richard Webb, of the same, 1673, and that Sarah, daughter of Richard and Mary Webb, married John Langley, in 1701.

[150] Though clearly written *Thorn*bora, Mariabella *Farm*borough (c. 1626-1708) is, doubtless, intended. She was born at Warminster, Wilts, and married, c. 1662, Thomas Farmborough, of London. She was convinced about the year 1682, and "was a tender & servisable woman . . . and in hir old age (by ye hardships she met with in prisons &c.) she was afflicted with lameness" (Howard, *Eliot Papers*, 1894, ii. 3). Her daughter of the same name married Peter Briggins (1666-1717) and the unusual name Mariabella has descended through nine generations to the present time in the Eliot, Howard, Fry and Lloyd families.

operahend not soe well as peopell thinks the[y] might but thear is noe Rome for aduise.

There is the following postscript: "A feue lins to Richard lower might doe him good if it be in thy hart to write."

The letter occupies two folio pages, and is in good condition. The date, "ye 2th day of ye 3 moth," has been added later. The letter is addressed:

To
Rachel Abrams
att Swarthmore
to be sent from
the post hous
in
Lancaster.

XXIX.

E[RICH] P[HILIPP VON] PLOENNIES TO FRIENDS, 1720.

Scant information only, respecting the writer of this letter, is at present at hand. From 1701, Von Ploennies was Professor of Mathematics at the University of Giessen and later he was "Nassau-Siegenscher Landbau-Director" at Wesel. He died probably at Wesel. We hope to supply our readers with further information in a future issue of THE JOURNAL.

On the day in which this letter was under the Editor's hand he received a visit from Pfarrer Theodor Sippell, of Schweinsberg, Germany, who kindly interested himself in it as he was personally acquainted with members of the Ploennies family, and he has supplied a copy of the original Latin, as also a translation into English. Pfarrer Sippell's work has been supplemented by Alfred Kemp Brown, M.A., B.D.

Dilecti Fratres,

Suavis odor Doctrinae vestrae vere Christianae (Robti Barclaÿ nempe Apologi[a] et Wmi Shewen Libello de Fide et Experientia Christiana) non Solum [*edge torn*] usqz ad me

Beloved Brethren!

The sweet smell of your truly Christian doctrine (as it is expounded in the Apology of Robert Barclay and the tract of William Shewen on [Christian] faith and experience) has not

pervenit, Sed etiam veritas ejus mee ad plenum Consensum compellere potuit, Lumen hoc doctrince vestree et in Tenebris Seculi nostri Lucens amplexus Sum magno cum gaudio mihi enim Lumen internum illud nempe quod omnes homines in hunc mundum venientes illuminat Testimonium dedit firmum, ett Salvatorem intus nos habere et verbum omnium cordibus inscriptum esse ; hinc miratus sum hactenus homines Christum anxie sed externe querentes, cum tamen proprior sit ipsis ; vos autem Fratres Dilecti, qui estis populus Electus et verbum Dei aeternum agnoscitis quodque vobis familiare quasi est, et cui obedientiam praestare studetis, admoneo in amore erge Deum et proximum magis atque magis calescere vestra et summa sit cura : hic amor est totius Christianae Religionis Summa et signum unicum veri Christiani : hic amor nos compellet ad humile vitae genus eligendum quodque humilitatem Salvatore Serio comendatum pre se fert : hic Amor Imbecilitates proximis patienter ferre animat : hic amor humanis proximo grato verbis respondere suadet: hic amor Fratri Egeno Summovere jubet hic amor nullam cordis acerbitatem admittit, sed in dictis et factis amenitatis suavitatisque Radios semper Emittit, Fratres Dilecti, quo profundius nos descendimus ad Fundimentum Aedificii nostri ponen[dum] Christiani eo altius assurgere potentiam ad Colo-

only) [*margin torn*] reached me, but its very truth availed to compel me to full approval. This light of your doctrine shining in the darkness of our age I have embraced with great joy ; for that inward light, which enlightens all men coming into this world gave me a sure testimony that we have a Saviour within us and that the word is inscribed in the hearts of all. Hence I have wondered that till now men have sought Christ earnestly but afar off while nevertheless he is near to them. But you, beloved brethren, who are the elect people, who acknowledge the eternal word of God which is as it were familiar to you, who strive to show obedience to it —I counsel to grow warmer and warmer in love towards God and your neighbour and to let this be your greatest care. This love is the sum of the whole Christian religion and the only mark of a true Christian. This love compels us to choose a humble way of life which manifests the humility earnestly commended by the Saviour. This love disposes us to bear patiently the foolishness of our neighbours, this love urges us to answer a friendly neighbour with kind words. This love commands us to support an indigent brother, this love allows no bitterness of spirit, but radiates continually in words and deeds the beams of pleasantness and sweetness. Beloved brethren, the deeper we descend in laying the found-

phonem imponend[um] hoc est Egregium Fundamentum Egregium Aedificium ferre potest ad tantam enim altitudinem nos assurgere possit ut possumus exclamare quid potest amorem destruere [*edge torn*] ergâ Deum et proximum ; certe neque Calamitas neque Anxietas neque persecutio neque vite amissio neque potestas externa neque interna nos deducere ab Amore, qui est in Christo nostro Salvatore quia in his omnibus nos sumus victores, victoriamque semper obtinemus, ad tale autem perfectionis Fastigium : Fratres Dilecti ut nos omnes mox perveniamus et ut extraneis nomen Dei omnium in Frontibus inscriptum legere possint ; ex toto corde exoptare vester addictus servus

E. P. Ploennies.

Sign[um] Comit. Nassovici In Germania
dij 21^mo^ Maij Ann° 1720.

ation of our Christian edifice the higher shall we be able to rise in order to lay the topstone of it ; that is, an excellent foundation can bear an excellent edifice. For it can raise us to such a height that we cry aloud : what can destroy our love towards God and our neighbour; surely neither calamity nor anxiety, neither persecution nor loss of life, neither force external nor internal can separate us from the love which is in Christ our Saviour, because we are in all these conquerors and always gain the victory. But that we all, beloved brethren, may soon reach such a height of perfection and that strangers may read the name of God inscribed on the foreheads of all, this wishes from his whole heart your devoted servant

E. P. Ploennies.

Signum Comit. Nassovici In Germania.
dy 21^mo^ May Ann° 1720.

The letter is endorsed by John Abraham : " A Person who was convinced of Truth In Germany, his Letter to ffriends att their Yearly Meeting att London An° 1720." There is no address on the letter.

No record of the receipt of this letter has been found among the minutes of Y.M. 1720.

There appear to be several slips or inaccuracies in the original Latin.

In *Country Life in America*, for May 15th, there is an article by Mary M. Vaux, daughter of George Vaux, of Philadelphia, on "The Exhilaration of Mountaineering—One Family's Experiences among the Glaciers and Peaks of the Canadian Rockies." For at least a dozen times since 1887 have visits been paid by members of the Vaux family to the Canadian Rockies. One of the beautiful illustrations accompanying the article shows "Miss Vaux at the summit of Mt. Stephen, in July, 1900, marking the highest point reached in Canada by a woman up to that time. Altitude 10,485 feet."

Calendar of the Contents of a Volume known as "Bristol MSS. v."

This volume has for title: "Letters and Papers of George Fox and other Early Friends." It belongs to Bristol and Frenchay Monthly Meeting. See THE JOURNAL, ix., 122.

1. London, 1st of 11 mo. 1667 [? 1669] GEORGE FOX to the Men's Meetings.

Enquiries to be made through Quarterly and Monthly Meetings respecting what widows have children to apprentice.

2. London, 1st of 11 mo. 1669.

The same, in another hand.

3. London, 1st of 11 mo. 1669. GEORGE FOX to Men's Meetings.

Request to collect accounts of those who have spoken "in steeple-houses to priests, or marketts, or courts, or assizes, or fayres, or townes."

4. London, 24th of 4 mo. 1671. GEORGE FOX to prisoners.

To draw up sufferings, present them by some eminent women Friends to the Judges, and send copies to Ellis Hookes.

5, 6. Rhode Island, 19th of 4 mo. 1672.

Copy of Journal of travels of G. F. and Friends in Virginia, etc. Printed in Camb. *Jnl.*

7. 1674. GEORGE FOX to Men's Meetings.

Sufferings to be recorded and sent up to London; also estates of fatherless children to be recorded. Note at foot that copies were sent to William Bateman for "Penbrook," and to Ralph Withers for Wilts.

8, 9. Swarthmoor, 12th of 12 mo. 1675/6. GEORGE FOX to all the elect and chosen of God in Christ Jesus.

Written by Thomas Lower. Printed in George Fox's *Epistles*, 1698, p. 357.

10, 11. Swarthmoor, 14th of 12 mo. 1675/6. GEORGE FOX to Dennis Hollister.

Encloses an epistle [presumably the previous paper]. It is to be read by one of D. H.'s sons, or Lawrence Steel, or Thomas Goldney, or Richard Vickris, or William or Francis Rogers. Copies are to be made and sent into Wiltshire and Gloucestershire, and to John Anderdon in Somersetshire, and Thomas Curtis in Berkshire. Also encloses [not found] a vision of his found amongst his papers, which may be read and copied. Thomas Lower, the writer, adds messages of love and is sorry to hear of the death of D. H.'s son [Dennis the younger died 29 viii. 1675]. Copy in Swarth. MSS. Trans. v. 29.

12, 13. Amsterdam, 25th of 7 mo. 1677. GEORGE FOX to Friends. "Keepe your first love in y^e truth." Sent through the post to R. Vickris, merchant, in Bristol. Printed in his *Journal*.

14, 15. London, 13th of 9 mo. 1677. GEORGE FOX to Friends. "My love in y^e Lord to you all." Printed in *Epistles*, p. 409.

16. Swarthmoor, 5th of 1 mo. 1678. GEORGE FOX to Richard [Snead].

Refers to the work of William Rogers in the Wilkinson and Story Secession. "His Strife is his owne, & his Anger hath stirred it up & his wilfull Proude Minde Encreases it." Other Separatists are named—George Mansergh, John Wilkinson, John Story, Nathaniel Coleman, Arthur Ismeade, and "one Pococke of Reading." Written by Sarah Fell. A copy is in Swarth. MSS. Trans. v. 15.

17. Swarthmoor, 15th of 1 mo. 1678/9. ROBERT BARROW to Friends in Bristol.

Account of trouble in Westmorland caused by visitors from Wiltshire of the W.-S. party—John Wilkinson, Arthur Ismeade, Nathaniel Coleman, Robert Pocock. Copy in Swarth. MSS. Trans. v. 21.

18, 19. Bristol, 4th of 11 mo. 1678. GEORGE FOX to William Rogers.

Very controversial. Refers to a book of about thirty pages called A Brief Relation of Passages, etc., concerning meetings in Bristol. This book is said to have been presented to G. F. in the presence of W. Ford, Edward Erbery and Cornelius Sergeant. Two letters for G. F. are brought by George Mansergh and Thomas Hodgson, one dated 11th of 11 mo. 1678, and the other undated. Joan Hiley is mentioned several times. There is a postscript written by [?] Thomas Dockray.

20, 21. Marsh Grange, 7th of 11 mo. 1678. GEORGE FOX to Richard Snead.

Letter of advice, written by [?] Thomas Dockray; with a postscript written by Thomas Lower, conveying love to Charles Marshall, Jasper Batt, Israel Noy, John Anderdon, Robert Langley, and Richard Smyth, Henry Moore and others that attend the Fair. A copy of this is in Swarth. MSS. Trans. v. 17.

22. 7 mo. 1679. GEORGE FOX to Friends.

Commences, "To All dear Friends everywhere that hath received y^e Truth." Written by [?] T. Dockray. Copy in Swarth. MSS. Trans. v. 70. Printed in *Epistles*, p. 428.

23. Swarthmoor, 6 mo. 1679. GEORGE FOX to Friends.

Commences, "All are to live y^e Life of y^e true Christians." Copy, addressed to the Monthly Meeting at the Bull and Mouth, in Swarth. MSS. Trans. v. 69. Printed in *Epistles*, p. 430.

24. London, 25th of 7 mo. 1686. GEORGE FOX to Friends.

Commences, "Friends, the Lord by his Eternall Power." Expresses gratitude that the prison doors have been opened and about 1,500 or 1,600 set at liberty. Printed in his *Journal*.

25, 26. Gooses, 14th of 5 mo. 1687. GEORGE FOX to Thomas Robinson [Robertson], care of Richard Snead, Bristol.

John Cox preaches in the meeting against orders. A long argument drawn from Scripture in favour of order in the Church.

On the same sheet is copied a reply to G. F. from some of John Cox's sympathisers, referring to and disagreeing with many statements as to law and order, too early re-marriage, etc. Thomas Robinson has spent upwards of six months in and around Bristol. He is "an idle droanish man" who by his preaching false doctrine, misquoting Scripture and dreaming stories so void of sense has caused dishonour and scandal.

27. Swarthmoor, 21st of 5 mo. 1679. JAMES FELL to Richard Snead.

Original letter, enclosing rough draft [not found] of G. Fox's answer to William Rogers, of which a fair copy is to be made and forwarded. "G. ff. ordered me to signifie thus to thee with his deare Love." Thomas and Ann Curtis send love. Copy in Swarth. MSS. Trans. v. 25.

28, 29. c. 1656. GEORGE FOX to Friends.

Commences, "All my deare ffriends in y^e^ noble seed of God." A copy sent to D. Hollister with request that he send copies into Gloucestershire, and to Thomas Holme at Cardiff for Wales. Printed in his *Journal* with introduction, sub anno 1656. See Camb. *Jnl.* i. 222, 438

30. GEORGE FOX to Friends.

Commences, "All my deare ffreinds euery whare." Analogy drawn from Israel's wilderness journey.

31. GEORGE FOX to Friends.

Commences, "Your tendernesse is Good and cannot but bee accepted." Partly written by John Stubbs.

32. GEORGE FOX. The Quakers Testimony Concerning Magistracy.

Commences, "All you y^t^ calls your selves Christians . . . Independant and Presbyterian." A copy sent to T. Callowhill.

33. [1653.] GEORGE FOX to Friends.

"Take heed of judging one another." Printed in *Epistles*, p. 47.

34-36. [1669.] GEORGE FOX. Travels in Ireland.

Printed in Camb. *Jnl.*

37-47. [1672.] GEORGE FOX. Journal of American Journey.

Printed in *Jnl. F.H.S.* ix. 1. Some of the events on the voyage from Barbados to Jamaica, between 1 mo. 20 and 23 are more full, and there is a reference to "Francis Camfield's plantation," and to a vision seen by G. Fox. The name of Nicholas Dains is introduced into the narrative under date 5 mo. 26. The distance to Oyster Bay from Rhode Island is given as "about 200 miles," under date 6 mo. 7.

48-51. 1674. Papers relating to the distribution of G. Fox's gifts of copies of the Works of Edward Burrough. See Bowden, *History of Friends in America*, i. 357.

51B. London, 24th of 3 mo. 1697. BENJAMIN BEALING to Bristol Friends.

Respecting a catalogue of George Fox's books and papers.

52-54. [1673.] GEORGE FOX. Autograph account of portions of the American journey.

Commences, "the lord carred by his hygh hand & mighty power & wisdom overall & throw many dangers & pereles by say & land & danders per of deseatfull profesers & pearrell of woveleses & barers & tigers & ratell snakes in the woods & wilderneses."

Printed, slightly corrected as to spelling, in Camb. *Jnl.* ii. 250, 252, 253, 255.

[There is not any MS. numbered 55.]

56, 57. [1673.] GEORGE FOX. Another account of portions of American journey.

Only a few lines in G. F.'s handwriting. Printed in Camb. *Jnl.* ii. 252-255.

58, 59. London, 9th of 2 mo. 1670. THOMAS ELLWOOD and EDWARD MAN to Magistrates and others.

Relates to confusion of names of George Fox and John Fox, and encloses a copy of certificates clearing George Fox written by G. Talbot and W. Churchill. In Ellwood's writing. Printed in THE JOURNAL, ix. 154 f.

60-74. 1673. JAMES LANCASTERS Book. Portion of the narrative of the American journey of George Fox and others.

Commences 9 mo. 5, setting sail towards Virginia. Ends with the words, "The whole Trauells by sea and Land Amountes to Just in all 16149 myles." Printed in Camb. *Jnl.* ii. 233-245.

75. Croslands, 18th of 8 mo. 1660. JOHN AUDLAND to D. Hollister.

He often thinks of his Bristol friends. He returned home well.

76. JOHN AUDLAND to Friends.

Commences, "Dearly beeloued Caled of y^e^ Lord." Letter of advice. A copy.

77. JOHN AUDLAND to William Wilton, minister at Elberton.

Commences, "I seeing a letter w^ch^ came from The[e]." Long letter on the light of Christ. Autograph copy.

78, 79. The same to the same.

80. 22nd Dec., 1654. JOHN AUDLAND and JOHN CAMM to the Magistrates of Bristol.

Relates to their liberty to travel about.

81. 4th of 5 mo. 1678.

"These are to Certifie to any y^t^ are or may be concernd—that Thomas Cam of Westmoreland did at a Meeting at the Widowe Goldneys in Chippingham, the 3^d^ the 5^th^ Mon^th^ 1678 offer many times, Yea pressed in our hearing to prove the charge (he gave againust) J: Wilkinson, but could not be permitted—

"Witness our hands the 4^th^ the 5^th^ Mon^th^ 1678

MARMADUKE ROBINSON.	BENJ. ANTROBUS.
EDWARD WALLIS.	SAM^L^ BOULTON.
ADAM GOLDNEY.	THO: LAWRENCE.
RALPH GALE.	CHARLES MARSHALL.
NATH. [? B]ALLEY.	NATH: HARRIS."

82. Camsgill, 30th of 1 mo. [1656] JOHN CAMM to D. Hollister and others.

Reports a safe return home, though in much weakness. Not been out of the house since arrival, but has had meetings at home. Sends messages of love from self, wife, and little Thomas to Mary Prince, Elizabeth Haggett and daughter, Thomas Speed and wife, Thos. Curtis and wife, Hannah Jordan, Eliz. Marshall and Charles, Margaret Wood, Daniel Wastfield and wife, to Rob. Wastfield, Eliz. Pyott, Nicholas Ganniclift and wife.

83. Camsgill, 16th of 9 mo., 1678. THOMAS and ANN CAMM to Richard Snead.

Refer to the Wilkinson and Story controversy. "A full & fre time" with John Story, "But a haughty scornefull hard man he is growen, But w^t^ we laid vpon him he will not shake all of in hast . . . who being gone from y^e^ fathers house where ther is Liueing bread enough, his owne Company are glad of his dry huskey stufe." Send love to brother and sister Moone, Elizabeth Dowell, Elizabeth Stirridge, Hannah Jordan and Joan Dixon. There is a postscript, dated 6th of 10 mo.

84. Camsgill, 21st of 11 mo. 1698. THOMAS and ANN CAMM to R. and B. S[nead].

They report accident to Ann Camm—"a fall upon our owne house ffloor and broke the speell bone of her leg," and the illness of her husband. "Many of the younger sort of ffreind Intend for Penselvania." They note the burial of Margery, the wife of William Rallinson (Rawlinson).

85, 86. Amsterdam, 2nd of 6 mo. 1696. WILLIAM SEWEL to William Penn.

Endorsed: "A Letter to William Penn from one beyond sea who was sought to be a school master." Written in Latin. Translation in D.

87-98. Bristol, 1st of 12 mo. 1677.

Commences, "Propositions agreed between William Pen & William Rogers on behalfe of themselves & [others concerned, in order to a meetinge for the endinge some differences." Refers to the question of women's ministry. Written, in part, by William Rogers. Signed in autograph:

WILLIAM ROGERS.
WILLIAM FORDE.
ARTHUR ESMEAD.
JOHN MATRAVERS.

99-106. Gallway, 10th of 8 mo. 1661. MARCUS LYNCH to Edward Burrough, sending MS. of discussion with Romish priests, prisoners in Gallway.

107. 1670. WILLIAM DEWSBURY to Friends.

Commences: "Deare pretious and beloued friends." Printed in his Works, p. 393.

108. BRISTOL MEN'S MEETING, 24th of 9 mo., 1673, to Friends in Virginia.

Refers to Richard Gotby, *alias* Dowell, of Bristol, who behaved himself badly in America, and on his return issued a paper of condemnation against himself. Signed in autograph:

THOMAS GOULDNEY.
THOMAS CALLOWHILL.
CHARLES HARFORD.
WILLIAM FFORDE.
JOHN LOVE.

109. GENERAL MEN'S MEETING at West River, in Maryland, 6th of 4 mo. 1674, to Friends in Bristol.

Refers with gratitude to the visit of George Fox and party and acknowledges eight books per Thomas Hucker and other eight per George Hawes. Signed in autograph:

WILLIAM COALE.
WILLIAM RICHARDSON.
JOHN GARY.

110, 111. Nansemond, 25th of 4 mo. 1674. To Dennis Hollister, Thomas Gouldney and Thomas Callowhill.

Acknowledge receipt of four books, per Lot Ricketts on the ship *Comfort*, which have been disposed of according to order (presents from G. F.). Since G. F.'s visit meetings have become much larger, more than doubled. Account of the sad doings and death of Edward Beare. Original letter signed by

WILL: DENSON.
WILL: PARRATT.
THO: JORDAN.

112, 113. Four pages headed Right Marriages.

Commences, "Noe man or woman to speak any thing, but that which they doe uprightly, and faithfully intend to doe."

114, 115. 1657. MARGARET KELLAM to Bristol Friends.

Signed, "yours in the Lord

MARGRET KELLAM
BARBARA [? Pattison]."

A copy.

116. Bristol, 12th of 8 mo. 1674. From the MEN'S MEETING to the General Meeting of Men Friends at West River in Maryland, addressed to William Coale, William Richardson and John Gary.

Refers to G. F.'s apprehension, and imprisonment in Worcester Gaol.

117, 118. 1678. BRISTOL FRIENDS' Advice to their Youth.

With forty-two autograph signatures, including Paul Moone, Francis Rogers, Edward Martindale, Jeremiah Hignell, John Jennett and Richard Vickris.

Not numbered. Felsted, Essex, 26th of 10 mo. 1678. GEORGE WHITEHEAD to Friends of Bristol.

Letter of advice.

119. Westgate Prison in Canterbury, 28th of 11 mo. 1699. JOHN LOVE THE YOUNGER to Friends in Bristol.

Letter of advice.

120. [Swansea] 10th of 2 mo. 1699. WILLIAM BEVAN to the Men's and Women's Meetings in Bristol, addressed to Edward Loyd, merch^{t} in Corne Street.

Commences, "'Tis now above forty years when your acquaintance was first dear unto me." Concerns the writer's daughter, Mary, living in Bristol, who inclines to marry a non-Friend, Richard Dolton. Original letter.

121, 122. London, 30th of 8 mo. 1700. MARY OBEE to Friends in Bristol.

Commences, "Amongst whom I had my education in my tender yeares." Letter of advice.

123. Wycombe, 7th of 4 mo. 1703. Letter to Roger Cook in answer to one from him about Charles Harris, "a man disowned by ffriends many years ago for his work of separation."

NICHOLAS NOY.
JOSEPH STEEVENS.
JOHN RAKESTRAW.
ABRAHAM BARBER.

A copy made by Thomas Ellwood.

124. Weston Turville, Bucks, 27th of 4 mo. 1705. QUARTERLY MEETING to Men's Meeting in Bristol.

Respecting Charles Harris. Signed by

DANIEL WHARLEY.	JOHN RAKESTRAW.
JOSEPH STEEVENS.	PHILLIP DANCER.
JAMES SMITH.	WILLIAM BOUGHTON.
THOMAS DELL.	WILLIAM SMITH.
THOMAS EDMONDS.	THO. ELLWOOD.
DANIEL DANCER.	WILLIAM GRIMSDALL.
THOMAS COOK.	JOHN WHITE.
WILLIAM CATCH.	ABRAHAM BARBER.
DANIEL ROBERTS.	RICHARD FFELLOW.
JOHN PENINGTON.	THOMAS SPIERS.
JOSIAH LANE.	JOS. GRAVENY.
WILLIAM RUSSELL.	THOMAS SMITH.

A copy made by Thomas Ellwood.

125. 3rd of 8 mo. 1687. UPPERSIDE M.M. at Hunger Hill to the Second Day's Morning Meeting, London.

Respecting Charles Harris "of very immodest & obscene Carriages." "He is joyned to the separate Meeting his ffather Raunce hath set up." Signed by twenty-eight Friends, of whom the following do not appear in the list of No. 124.

RICHARD CLIPSHAM.	HENRY CHILD.
JOHN WELLS.	THOMAS WEST.
RICHARD BAKER.	JEREMIAH STEEVENS.
ROBERT JONES.	JOHN COSTARD.
WILLIAM KIDDER.	THOMAS OLLIFFE.
JOHN MORTON.	CHARLES PEARCE.
HENRY PEARCE.	JOHN PUDDIVATT.
JOSEPH WELCH.	THOMAS WHITE.
THO. REDMAN.	JOHN HALLIDAY.

A copy made by Thomas Ellwood.

126, 127. 14th of 3 mo. 1705. BRISTOL MEN'S MEETING.

Relates to a collection, concerning which Bristol Friends felt they had a grievance against the Y.M. Signed in autograph by

JAMES PETERS.	WILLIAM FFARNELL.
FRANCIS ROACH.	RICHARD SNEADE.
JOHN DYER.	CHARLES HARFORD.
ALLEX. ARSCOTT.	THOMAS CALLOWHILL.
JOHN ANDREWS.	CHARLES JONES.
RICH^{S} CHAMPION.	THO. OADE.
ISAAC PARTRIDGE.	CHARLES HARFORD, JR.
HENRY JAMES.	JOHN POPE.
CHARLES ROGERS.	THOMAS BAYLE.
SAM^{LL} OSBORNE.	ARTHUR THOMAS.
HENRY DICKINSON.	THOMAS DICKSON.
SAMUELL COX.	JOHN SCANDRETT.

128, 129. Philadelphia, 2nd of 2 mo. 1719. BENJAMIN HOLME to Bristol Men's Meeting.

Letter of advice. Autograph.

130. Dublin, 23rd of 11 mo. 1726. BENJAMIN HOLME to Friends in Bristol.

A copy of letter of advice.

131-133. Frenchay, 20th of 7 mo. 1739. MARY SMITH to Friends in Bristol.

Probably a copy. Letter of advice.

134. No place or date. MARY BRADSHAW to Friends.

Commences, "The Spirit of the Lord is vpon me." Perhaps the same Mary Bradshaw, of Bristol, who sent a message to Charles II. in 1670 (MS. in D.).

135. 10 mo. 1761. Letter from YEARLY MEETING'S COMMITTEE visiting Bristol to the Two Weeks Meeting of that City.

Letter of much condemnation on account of many departures from Truth. Refers, *inter alia*, to "dealing in Negroes." Signed by

ROBERT FOSTER. ISAAC SHARPLES.
JAMES PAYTON. JOSEPH WOSTER.
SAMPSON LLOYD. GEORGE BOONE.
JOHN PLAYER. HENRY WILKINS.

A copy.

136. 14th of 10 mo. [1681]. Sufferings of Friends in Bristol, under Edmund Watkin, marshall, and John Hellier, constable. Printed in *The Distressed Case . . . Bristol*, 1682, and other tracts of the period.

137. 18th of 10 mo. 1681, and later. Abstract from Bristol paper relating to Sheriff Knight's deportment. Printed in *The Sad and Lamentable Cry*, 1682, and other tracts of the period.

138-146. 1681. Record of persecution in Bristol in the Mayoralty of Sir Thomas Earl, addressed to the King and Council.

Said to be in the handwriting of Philip Theodore Lehnmann (d. 1687), William Penn's secretary. For Lehnmann, see Myers's *Narratives*, 1912, p. 390 n.

147, 148. London, 16th of 1 mo. 1681/2. To Bristol Friends in prison.

Enclose a copy of Order in Council [written by Mark Swanner] against overcrowding in jail. Signed by

GEORGE WHITEHEAD.
CHARLES JONES, JUN.
LAWRENCE STEEL.

Probably in the handwriting of the first signer.

149. 20th of 1 mo. 1681/2. The Order of the Mayor and Aldermen of Bristol in compliance with the Order of Council referred to in No. 147.

150, 151. 11 mo. 1681/2. Further records of distraints and sufferings in Bristol.

152. Further abuses by John Hellier and others.
Signed by

Charles Harford.	Richard Vickris.
Charles Jones.	Jno. Love.
Rich. Marsh.	Tho. Callowhill.
Rich. Snead.	Chas. Jones, Jr.

A copy.

153. 1 mo. 1681/2. Account of Distresses in Bristol. In the handwriting of [?] Mark Swanner.

154. 12 mo. 1681. Copy of Abstract of Sufferings of Friends in Bristol, sent to the King and Council.
Signed by

Lawrence Steel.
Charles Jones, Jun.
George Whitehead.

A copy by Mark Swanner.

155. Bristol. No date. Petition to the King.

Meeting Records.

At Devonshire House, London.

Shropshire Monthly Meeting,	1768-1857.	3 vols.
Do. do. (Women),	1753-1859.	5 vols.
Do. do. (Ministers and Elders),	1766-1851.	1 vol.
Women's Yearly Meeting for Wales,	1749-1797.	5 vols.
Women's Half Yearly Meeting for Wales,	1797-1811.	2 vols.
Women's Quarterly Meeting for Wales,	1752-1796.	2 vols.
Broseley Monthly Meeting (copy),	1690-1719.	1 vol.
Coalbrookdale Preparative Meeting,	1741-1829.	3 vols.
Do. do. (Women),	1746-1829.	5 vols.
Newdale Preparative Meeting,	1787-1827.	2 vols.
Book of Sufferings,	1660-1794.	1 vol.
Certificates of Removal,	1785-1804.	1 vol.

Extracts from State Papers Domestic, 1664-9.

Perhaps the matter of most general interest in the Tenth Supplement to *The Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, which give the cream of researches into the State Papers Domestic, 1664-9,[1] is to be found in the application by George Fell (pp. 227-8) for the grant of the estate of his widowed mother, Margaret Fell. This unfilial move, on the part of her only son, was unfortunately successful. On 4th January, 1665, order was given for a royal grant of her "Estate Reall & Personall," forfeited under praemunire, "unto George Fell Gent" (very much so). This "Gent," according to Thomas Lower, procured the order for his mother's recommittal to gaol, early in 1670, "in order that he might enter upon the estate" (see A. C. Bickley in *D.N.B.*, art. Fell, Margaret).

Apart from this, there are other matters of considerable interest in this publication. The accounts of persecutions make one shudder. At Warwick Gaol, in 1666, a batch of Friends had been kept for many months, evidently with no serious charge against them, "thronged vp in Stincking roomes & somtimes in one roome above twenty of vs, where wee could not all ly downe at once" (p. 250). Even straw was not allowed them, "Except wee would pay 2^{s} 6^{d} for one Bolting [bundle; the earliest example for this, in the Oxford Dictionary, is in 1784], w^{ch} was sould to y^{e} felons for 2^{d}; And no mañer of victuals allowed to bee brought to vs Except wee would pay 6^{d} for one penny Loafe of bread, & asmuch for a quart of milke, & 3^{d} for a quart of water." It is pleasant to read, after this display of barbarism, that (as is related in the case of some imprisoned Puritans) there were those, not Friends in judgment, yet friends in Christian charity, who were "stirred vp in tenderness to throw bread over a house top into the Dungeon Court, for our p^{r}sent reliefe."

We are reminded of the dodges (if we may use the term) by which Puritans sometimes contrived to elude the

[1] *Extracts from State Papers Relating to Friends*, Third Series, 1664-1669, transcribed from the original MSS. by Charlotte Fell Smith, and edited by Norman Penney, F.S.A., pp. 213-288, and Index, 4s. 6d. ($1.15) net.

Conventicle Acts, when we read (p. 287) of some (but were they Friends ?) who "chuse a convenient house where other houses are prety rancked of both sides and of y^e^ other side of y^e^ streete pretty neare, there being noe more but 4 besides the speaker, they open there kasements on both sides and on y^e^ other sides of y^e^ street, and soe heare him out from y^e^ window." In "one Priscilla Moseley a Widdow" (p. 226) we have an ancient forerunner of certain present-day irreconcileables. Imprisoned, she "grew sicke," and her discharge was ordered "shee paying half a Crowne w^ch^ was her fine; but soe strong a spiritt of obstinacye had possest her, that she rather chose to dye there then pay her halfe Crowne." It seems at first odd to find the notorious Mrs. Aphra Behn figuring (in 1666) in any connection with Friends (p. 256). Whatever we may think of her writings—and they are not as bad as report makes them; moreover her *Oroonoko* is an impressive recognition of the nobility of nature to be found in a negro-slave—we must admit that Mrs. Behn had a decidedly mystic vein in her versatile character. Though the introducer of milk-punch into this country, her commendatory verses to Thomas Tryon—strict vegetarian, teetotaller and mystic—show that his *Way to Health* had the warm homage of her feelings, even if not, perhaps, always of her practice.

Col. Walter Slingsby, who could not break the "spiritt" of the Widow Moseley, was a humorist in his way. Having to deal with "two Strangers" whom he describes as "such desperate & profane Canters that there is noe talking to them" (p. 226), in order to "match them," he "sent them the Alcoran in Englishe," which he thought would fit them, and evidently smiled at the fancy that it might make them "turne Turkes, a pleasant & easye subuersion." This "Alcoran in Englishe," published in 1649, was a version from the French, supplemented by a "Caveat" from the redoubtable pen of Alexander Ross ("There was an ancient sage philosopher, Who had read Alexander Ross over," according to *Hudibras*). Ross fairly warns his reader that this "Alcoran, or gallimaufry of Errors" is "a Brat as deformed as the Parent, and as full of heresies, as his scald head was of scurffe." How, we may ask, did the

worthy Colonel happen to have this pestilent pocket-quarto so happily at hand for the "subuersion" of strangers?

"H.P." (p. 219) was Henry Hedworth, who signs his epistles sometimes H Hed, sometimes H H, sometimes He P., sometimes H P., sometimes H HP. The clerkly underling who summarised the case of John Knowles (among whose papers several letters from Hedworth were found) had sharper eyes than the index-maker to the printed Calendars of State Papers, for he notes "H H seems ye same hand wth H P"; he might have added that he uses the same neat little seal, bearing a diademed head, intended probably for the King of Saints. If we proceed to furnish a few particulars of Hedworth, the Editor will doubtless recognise in him an old acquaintance. He is, of course, quite distinct from H. H., the Intelligencer (p. 272).

Henry was the fourth son of Richard Hedworth, Esq., (d. 1680), of Chester-le-Street, Co. Durham, by his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Herbert, alderman of York. He was baptised on 24 September, 1626. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Peter Hervey, or Harvey, of Edwardstone, Suffolk; she died on 18 June, 1694, aged 56 (Surtees' *Durham; Inscriptions in Bunhill Fields*, 1717). As he is called Captain, he doubtless at some time held this position in the Parliamentary army. Under the influence of Thomas Firmin, he adopted the modified Socinianism advocated by John Bidle; later, both he and Firmin were brought over to a Sabellian position, by Stephen Nye. In his letters he usually (not invariably) employs the thou-and-thee style, but does not specify days and months by their numbers. He had sympathy with Friends in their sufferings, though not in their doctrine. In the *Bibliotheca Anti-Quakeriana*, 1873, Joseph Smith has given immortality to Hedworth, as author of the anonymous brochures, *The Spirit of the Quakers Tried*, 1672, and *Controversy Ended*, 1673—a vain hope. Replies by William Penn lift the veil of anonymity. He contributed an appended letter to *A Brief History of the Unitarians*, 1687, and is vouched for by Stephen Nye (writer of the so-called *History*) as "a person of excellent

learning and worth." He was living in 1694; the date of his death is at present unknown.

In the extract (p. 219) from his letter of 30 September, 1664, in which he says: "Now I am returned to Towne" *i.e.* from Huntingdon to London, there is a reference to the illness of (as printed) "Our friend Gr." This friend's initial is certainly ambiguous, as written; perhaps, purposely so. It might lend itself to "Or," or even to "Sr." Elsewhere, when Hedworth writes in full the well-known surname *Crell*, the printed Calendar gives it *Orell*. As a matter of fact, the abbreviation is Cr., and stands for John Cooper, an Ejected divine, ministering at Cheltenham. In another letter, Hedworth refers to "our friend *Coop*" and "his great infirmities"; the news of his death reached him on 31 March, 1665. This is worth noting; inasmuch as a modern forgery, entered in the churchwardens' vestry-book at Cheltenham, professes to be the register of his death in the year 1682; a fraud which deceived Robert Wallace (*Antitrinitarian Biography*, 1850) who had not personally inspected the clumsy insertion (see *Christian Life*, 18 March, 1899).

In Hedworth's letter (p. 220) of 22 October [1664] there is reference to Knowles' old landlord, Atkinson. This was Edward Atkinson, living in his "house in Aldersgate Street the chirurgeons sine next doore to y^e^ Black horse." It seems reasonable to infer that Atkinson was a barber. He had lost his wife in the summer of 1662, and wrote, begging Knowles to return from Pershore and live with him, as he was "lonely and desolate." These human touches make old papers live.

The endorsement on Hedworth's letter, and the note "in another hand" on his letter of 19 November, 1664 (p. 221), are in the handwriting of Major J. Wild, J.P., the magistrate who seized Knowles' papers and annotated many of them, treating pleas for freedom, and constitution of organized worship, as indicative of a political conspiracy. The index-maker to the printed Calendars has confused Knowles, once in a way, with Hanserd Knollys (also spelled Knowles), against whom charges of sedition were then levelled. It is not impossible that local and contemporary dunderheads (including my Lord Windesor at Kidderminster) made a similar miscalculation, when

they arrested Knowles, whose action had never given any colour to such charge. Knollys was under suspicion, groundless, yet his movements gave alarm to the authorities. Major Wild made a catalogue of Knowles' books—a very respectable collection, better than the then average libraries of preaching men, both for breadth and for quantity, and containing but two heretical books, and these of no moment. What had become of that heretical *libellus rarissimus*, Daniel Zwicker's anonymous *Irenicum Irenicorum*, presented to him by Hedworth? The present writer only managed to obtain a copy, after twenty years' search, and at the cost of more shillings than its weight or its worth.

ALX. GORDON.

35, *Rosemary Street, Belfast.*

The Cambridge "Journal."

Continued from page 156.

23.—Vol. II., p. 388.—The wife of John Moore was a daughter of *Thomas and Anne Camm*, and not of John and Anne Audland, *i.e.*, she was the child of the second marriage of Anne Audland, and not the first.

John Moore, of Eldroth, son of John Moore, of the same, who was visited by George Fox in 1669 (Camb. *Jnl.* ii. 135, 386) married Sarah, daughter of John Blaykling, of Draw-well, in 1684. After her death, he married, in 1691, Mary, daughter of Thomas and Anne Camm. Of a daughter of John Moore, we read in the Diaries of John Kelsall (iii. 108, MS. in D.), anno 1723, "This evening came here . . Eleanor Moor from Sedber Daughter of Jno. Moor (son in law to Thos. Cam) by a first wife." Eleanor Moore travelled extensively in the ministry, and died at the house of her brother-in-law, Isaac Hadwen, in 1725 (Testimony, MS. in D.).

Among Friends to-day there are descendants of John and Mary Moore—Mason of Leeds, and Shout of Darlington.

24.—Vol. I., pp. 231, 439.—In Bristol MSS. v. 82 (see THE JOURNAL, ix. 193) there is a reference to "*Elizabeth* Haggett and daughter," of Bristol, sub anno 1656. The former may be the same as "Judge Haggetts wiffe" of the Camb. *Jnl.*, and Elizabeth Yeamans, who married John Haggett in 1637.

Friends in Current Literature.

The history of the Quaker movement, no matter in what part of England it be studied, is never devoid of interest.—J. HARRIS STONE, *England's Riviera* (Cornwall), 1912, p. 76.

The Social Work of the Society of Friends.—In "Studien über die Sozialpolitik der Quäker,"[1] Miss Auguste Jorns, Dr. rer. pol.[2] of the University of Freiburg, in Breisgau, has made an important addition to German literature illustrative of the history and leading characteristics of the Society of Friends. The authoress spent many weeks of research in the Reference Library at Devonshire House, and has made good use of the materials at hand there. An indication of this appears in the seven pages which contain an alphabetical list of the sources of information, and also in the ample notes and references accompanying the text throughout. The introduction shows a remarkable grip of the Quaker movement and its relation to the period in which it took its rise. The conclusion sums up the underlying principles which have made Quaker philanthropy a living force in the world.

The subjects dealt with *seriatim* are: Care of the Poor; Education; Temperance; Care of the Sick and especially of the Insane; Prison Reform; and Abolition of the Slave Trade.

Once more we have to turn to a German writer for information respecting John Bellers, to whose works and labours there are many references.

The epistles of London Yearly Meeting, the minutes of Yearly and other Meetings frequently referred to, show the wide range of sources that have been investigated, which include such recent publications as Elizabeth B. Emmott's "The Story of Quakerism," William Tallack's "Penological and Preventive Principles," etc., "Saffron Walden School: A Sketch of 200 Years," and "The Stewardship of Wealth."

The book is a compendium of carefully collected and well-arranged material which if written in English and well indexed would be a valuable work of reference for Quaker readers. ISAAC SHARP.

"Of all the Quakers I have met there is no one I have seen more of than John Edward Ellis, and his recent death has deprived me, and many others, of a very dear friend. He used to describe himself as being 'a Conservative by nature and a Liberal by grace.' He and his wife and other members of his family used to come and see my wife and me frequently at Carrow Abbey. . . He had a great and personal influence in the House of Commons, and the firmness, and at the same time the gentleness of his character grew on people more and more, and made his influence greater as time advanced."

[1] Braunsche Hofbuchdruckerei und Verlag, Karlsruhe, 1912, 4 marks. May be obtained through Headley Brothers, for 4s. net.

[2] That is, *rerum politicarum*, or, in German, "Doktor der Staatswissenschaften."

So writes Professor James Stuart in his *Reminiscences* (London: Printed for Private Circulation, 1911), p. 227. There is another reference to Friends, which must, I think, be incorrect. He writes:

"During the Anti-Slavery Agitation a number of delegates, many of whom were women, came over from America to attend a conference in London, summoned, I think, by the Quakers, but anyhow, unless I am mistaken, held at their place of meeting. They were informed on arrival that no women could take part in its proceedings, but that they might be spectators from the gallery," etc.

The date given is 1840; was not this the great convention held in May 1840, in the Freemasons' Tavern? The position assigned to women makes it unlikely that the convention was summoned by Friends or held at any of their Meeting Houses.

Visitors to North-east Yorkshire will welcome the publication of *The Ryedale Guide—Pickering and Thornton*, prepared by Ernest E. Taylor, and introduced to the reader by T. Edmund Harvey, M.A. (York: Yorkshire Gazette, 6½ by 4, pp. 80, 3d.). Here are many details of use to travellers—maps, views, lists of walks and post offices, etc.

The visit to Australasia of Dr. Thomas Hodgkin and party in 1909 has been fruitful of good in various ways. Headley Brothers have recently published *Southward Ho! Being a Plea for a Greatly Extended and Scientific System of Emigration to Australia*, a pamphlet of 67 pages, 6d. net, "the result of thoughts forced into utterance" by the late visit of Thomas Hodgkin.

An outspoken utterance by Charles I. Evans, M.A., Headmaster of Leighton Park School, Reading, on the subject of teaching children the facts of life, has recently been delivered before the Reading Branch of the Parents' National Education Union. It has been printed under the title *Concerning Sex—A Paper for Parents and Teachers*, and copies may be had from the Author at 3d. each, post free.[3]

"About two miles from the village of Sennen, on the road to Penzance, where the road branches off to St. Just, in the acute angle there formed, is a small, high-walled, quadrangular enclosure, fifty-four feet long by forty-six feet broad. No gate or opening gives access to this desolate spot, lying on the moorland in quiet, solitary peacefulness, quite apart from all houses or signs of life. . . The driver of the motor-'bus buzzing by, with a nod of his head to the passengers, says briefly: 'Quakers' Cemetery.'"

So writes, kindly and sympathetically, J. Harris Stone, M.A., in his new book, *England's Riviera, A Topographical and Archæological Description of Land's End*, etc. (London: Kegan Paul, 9 by 6, pp. 492,

[3] For other pamphlets on the same subject, see *The Instruction of Children in the Origins of Life*, published for the Friends' Central Education Committee by Headley Brothers, 1909, and *Letter to Fathers*, sent out by London Y.M. of 1896.

137 illustrations, 15s. net). In addition to the notice of the above Burial Ground at Brea, where interments took place from 1659 to 1789 (see Camb. *Jnl.*), and illustrations thereof, the Author mentions another in the parish of St. Minver, near Padstow, the burials in which were entered into the parish register. There are twenty-eight recorded there between 1695 and 1742. Here John Peters was buried in 1709. It is interesting to read in this beautiful volume of "the Quaker, Robert Dunkin, who first made the young Humphry Davy [1778-1829] interested in physical science." Dunkin was a saddler of Penzance, born c. 1761, d. 1831.

The General Epistle of London Yearly Meeting has been printed in full in several Irish newspapers, as, *e.g.*, *The Cork Constitution*, July 15th.

There is a lively sketch of Phineas Pemberton and his wife, Phebe Harrison, in *The Inquirer*, for August 24th, under the heading "Phebe and Phineas," written by Dr. W. E. A. Axon.

The paper by William C. Braithwaite "What does the Society of Friends Stand For?" published by the Yorkshire 1905 Committee, has been translated into German and printed at Elberfeld (Druck von F. W. Köhler), under the title *Was Wollen die Quäker?* Copies for free distribution may be obtained from the Central Offices of the Society of Friends, Devonshire House, London, E.C.

The Avenue, the magazine of Friends' School, Saffron Walden, continues to supply news of the School, past and present. The July issue contains another instalment of the "Brief History of the School," and there is also an account of the Quaker poet, John Scott, of Amwell (1730-1783). There are six illustrations.

Leila J. Sparkes, a Buckinghamshire Friend, has written, and Headley Brothers have published, a book intended for boys and girls from fourteen to sixteen years of age, that they may be aroused to an intelligent interest in the welfare of the State. It is entitled *Civics*. The chapters are headed—The Grip of the State, Local Government, London, Central Government, the Colonies, India, Imperial Federation, and Navy and Army.

The London Friends' Tract Association has reprinted, for the third time, its *Elizabeth Fry* in the series "Friends Ancient and Modern" (140, Bishopsgate, London, and 144 East Twentieth Street, New York City, 1d.), the total number printed having reached 27,500.

Charles I. Evans, M.A., Headmaster of Leighton Park School, Reading, contributes a note to a recent publication, *Scripture Teaching in Secondary Schools*, edited by N. P. Wood, M.A., B.D., of Bishop's

Stortford College (Cambridge: University Press, 7½ by 5, pp. 73, 1s. 6d.). The note is entitled "Text Books and their Use," and it is followed by a bibliography for teachers of Scripture.

"The feast of St. Bartholomew on the 24th of August will mark the 250th anniversary of the date when the Act of Uniformity became effective in 1662 . . . in all about 2,500 clergymen passed out of the ministry of the Church."

Thus announces *The Hibbert Journal* for July.

This anniversary has been celebrated in many of the Free Churches by sermons and addresses, and by publication of literature. Correspondence columns in periodical publications have contained many references to the subject, favourable and unfavourable.

A pamphlet has been written, by Hercules D. Phillips, of Llandrindod Wells, on *The Early Quakers in Wales* (Aberavon: Jones, 7 by 4¼, pp. 20, 1d.), which gives a useful summary of the religious service of Friends in the Principality.

The National Council of Evangelical Free Churches, Memorial Hall, London, E.C., has published *The Ejectment of 1662 and the Free Churches*, 7½ by 5, pp. 143, 1s. net, which deals with the subject as it concerned Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Baptists and Wesleyans, and also the Principality of Wales. The Editor was wishful to include Friends and called at Devonshire House to obtain help to this end, but it did not seem in harmony with the feeling of early Friends, who were opposed to the other sects of the time and who had no ministry which could be affected by the Act of Uniformity, to introduce them into this connection. The Editor, H. Elvet Lewis, M.A., writes in his Introduction:

"When we remember that the primacy of honour in shame and insult and wrong was theirs, during those carnival years of persecution, one may well ask why they have no chapter in this volume. The Ejectment, as such, could not touch them; they had no minister to be ejected."

The National Council has also issued a valuable *résumé*, by Principal Edwards, D.D., of the South Wales Baptist College, Cardiff, of *Four Centuries of Nonconformist Disabilities, 1509-1912* (7½ by 5, pp. 152, 1s. net). Friends are mentioned frequently. There is a slip on page 92, which makes Meade the speaker instead of Penn at the famous Gracechurch Street meeting in 1670.

Another book on the same subject is *The Great Ejectment of 1662 and the Rise of the Free Churches*, by Benjamin A. Millard (London: Congregational Union, Memorial Hall, E.C., 7½ by 5, pp. 114, 1s. net).

The addresses delivered on June 19th, in the Queen's Hall, London, on *The Religious Aspect of the Women's Movement*, have been printed in a pamphlet, to be obtained for 7d., post free, from The Collegium, 232, Evering Road, Clapton, London, N. T. Edmund Harvey, M.P., spoke on "The Deepening of Political Life."

A notice in the *Western Daily Press* of the 3rd of August, of the sale, to a firm dealing in antiques, of Arno's Vale, or the "Black Castle," situated at Brislington, near Bristol, has revived the name of the builder of this curious structure—William Reeve. Our Friend, Hubert W. Peet, of Sydenham, with the assistance of Edmund T. Wedmore, of Bristol, has contributed to the *Pall Mall Gazette* (August 10th) a short sketch of the life of William Reeve. Reeve was a merchant of Bristol. During travels on the Continent he was attracted by a castle on the Arno in Italy, and had it reproduced at great expense near his own home, filling it with a medley of antiques collected by him.

"The Quaker merchant's eccentricities and his extravagances later in his life reached such a pitch that in 1775 he failed in business. A Committee of local Friends were appointed to inquire into the case, as being one which might bring the Society into disrepute. On December 18th, 1775, there was a report from those who had inquired into the failure. They found the causes unsatisfactory, and that Reeve had been extravagant, especially so regarding the building at Brislington. As a result he was disowned by the Society."

Reeve died 22nd September, 1778.

Multitudes of newspapers have printed brief accounts of Swarthmoor Hall[4] and its Quaker inhabitants, in connection with the sale of the Hall, which took place on the 28th of Eighth Month. The Hall and about one hundred acres of land were purchased jointly by representatives of the Society of Friends, and by Emma C. Abraham, of Liverpool—a direct descendant of Margaret Fell, through her youngest daughter, Rachel, who married Daniel Abraham—the sale price being £5,250. Thus after 153 years of alienation this ancient landmark of early Quakerism has returned to Friendly possession. The agreement between the purchasers is set out in a letter by Dr. Thomas Hodgkin in *The Friend* (Lond.) for September 13th.

A bedstead in the Hall was sold to Friends for fifteen guineas, and George Fox's desk, purchased by Mrs. Myles Kennedy, of Ulverston, for twenty-six guineas, has been generously presented to the Society, "to remain in Fox's old Meeting House for ever."

"George Fox has probably never been so interesting from the general point of view as he is now. We no longer talk of his fanaticism, or of his eccentricity—all that matters nothing. We rank him among the mystics, and the secret of his life draws and fascinates us: the secret which lifted him above things trivial, and even ludicrous, to the diviner ether which burns up all except the imperishable and eternal."

Thus writes one who signs himself F. R., under the heading of "Swarthmore Hall," in *The Inquirer*, dated 7th September. Of the purchase of the Hall we read: "It is a matter of congratulation that this monument of unique associations should now be in the keeping of the honoured representatives of that remarkable religious impulse which George Fox initiated."

NORMAN PENNEY.

[4] In the great majority of papers the Hall is named *Swarthmoor*. I hope that this is the name we shall give to it and not *Swarthmore*.

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